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ABSTRACT

The study's objectives were to: (1) compare differences in social-psychological behavior between 1948 high school graduates in central Iowa who migrated and those who remained in their home areas; (2) examine social behavior which may have resulted from the migration experience; (3) examine migration behavior in relation to occupational mobility over one's father's occupational status; and (4) examine migration in relation to occupational mobility within a segment of one's lifetime. Data were obtained from a longitudinal study of 144 high school seniors who graduated in 1948 from 9 rural high schools in Iowa. Completed in 1948, the original study obtained data on the students' background characteristics, migration intentions, educational and occupational aspirations, and attitudes toward farming. Data obtained in the follow-up studies, conducted in 1956 and 1967, concerned occupational and educational attainments, migration performance, occupational and educational aspirations for their children, and their attitudes about the Iowa Area Vocational Schools. Utilizing the 1948, 1956, and 1967 data, this study tested various hypotheses. Among the findings were: (1) migrants changed jobs significantly more frequently than non-migrants; and (2) the expected differences in occupational prestige between migrants and non-migrants were, on the whole, not significant. (NQ)

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A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE SOCIAL MOBILITY OF RURAL YOUTH

by

Linda Feitl Hodges

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree of
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INTRODUCTION

During the last several generations, changes in the social and economic life of the American people have accelerated. Such changes as the expansion of industrial production, technological advancement, the decline in over-all agricultural employment, and the urbanization and secularization of values are the result of previous changes, and in turn are continuing to alter the social and economic structure of the nation. Some of the adjustments that occur as new structures replace the old ones are labor mobility, migration, and social mobility.

One of these major adjustments, labor mobility or change in occupation, is a response to the elimination or lessened importance of factors which have historically contributed to the proliferation of certain occupational roles. Several generations ago, the expanding Western frontier, mass immigration, and industrial growth demanded a large supply of unskilled, blue-collar laborers in the growing cities as well as in rural areas, and a large supply of farm laborers in rural areas. Today, fewer individuals are required to fill the traditional unskilled occupations, while new types of jobs, largely professional and white collar in nature, demand more individuals to fill them (41). An increase in farm mechanization and an improvement in agricultural technology has led to a decline in farm employment, from 8.7 million in 1954 to 4.9 million in 1967 (73).

The reduction of the proportion of rural-based and unskilled jobs in the occupational system and the proliferation of urban-based and semi-skilled, skilled, and professional white-collar occupations has implications for two other kinds of mobility closely connected to labor mobility, namely, migration and social mobility. The decline in employment of farm workers means a labor surplus in rural areas, followed by mass movement out of rural areas. In 1950 there were 23.0 million persons living on farms, while in 1967 the farm population was estimated at 10.5 million-(73). The major pattern of this migration has been rural to urban. Urban areas of the United States contained approximately 40 percent of the population in 1900 and approximately 70 percent in 1960 (13).

The flow of manpower into an increasingly urbanized occupational structure has been accompanied by redistribution and differential assignment of jobs. In the highly industrialized nations in general, and in the American open-class society in particular, occupational assignment is achieved rather than ascribed. Theoretically, the merits of the individual rather than social class or family tradition determine the filling of occupational roles. One has both the right and the possibility of selecting an occupation that differs from one's father's, and of shifting one's job and career orientation during the course of one's working years.

Widespread occupational mobility is tantamount to widespread social mobility since occupational status is a major concomitant of social status. Some of the dimensions of occupational status, or the prestige of a particular occupation, are the amount of education or other prerequisites for entry into the occupation, the nature of the work, and the power and money involved in the occupation (19). These components of occupational achievement have been used as predictors of socioeconomic status. Other predictors of socioeconomic status, including stratification by religious, ethnic, or racial descent, authority, residence, possessions, consumption patterns and leisure style, are related in varying degrees to occupational achievement (6). The increasing shift in residential and occupational distribution of large segments of the American society means, therefore, changes in socioeconomic status for many individuals.

The structural changes of labor mobility, migration, and social mobility have implications for the individuals whose lives they affect. A major concern of the migration from rural areas is the age of the migrants. Of the 33 million people who moved from American farms between the years 1910 and 1962, the majority were youth or young adults (9). The youthful migrants have been motivated by many different factors. Migration from farms to cities may be a voluntary response to the "pull" factors, the attractions offered by the cities. The awareness of a lack of educational, occupational, social, recreational, cultural and health opportunities in one's home town has been a strong impetus to move. Encouragement of family, peers, or teachers may add to the desire to migrate.

Young people may feel a dissatisfaction with their home communities without necessarily feeling an attraction for other communities. A small town may appear to have poor prospects for growth due to lack of facilities, or resources or to poor geographic location. Still others who migrate may have preferred to remain in their home communities, but are no longer able to continue in an agricultural occupation. They are involuntarily subject to the "push" pattern of migration.

Young people who perceive superior occupational advantages outside of their rural communities and leave willingly and those who are pushed out from lack of opportunity may find the ideology of freedom of occupational choice limited in reality. Individual participants in the labor force have little opportunity to perceive the total range of occupations, assess their particular abilities and aptitudes, and select accordingly. Migrants from rural to urban areas, in particular, may have less knowledge than urban natives concerning the range of jobs available in cities. They may not be qualified educationally for the jobs they desire because of vocational limitations in their rural school systems (42).

In addition to entering a labor market for which they may be ill-prepared, rural migrants may face enormous personal adjustments. Rural families and rural communities typically are characterized by a high degree of cohesion or solidarity in their interpersonal relationships. The rural migrant may feel uncomfortable entering into a different social system, particularly that of a large city, where social bonds may be weaker than those with which he is familiar or in a constant state of flux. He may have been socialized earlier to work independently or with a minimum of social interaction, while now he may have to give up his tendency for self-reliance in order to blend his personality harmoniously with the personalities of others. Feelings of dissatisfaction may stem both from his social contacts, which are more impersonal and less secure than those in his community of socialization, and from his occupational role, in which autonomy is now less important and teamwork is more highly valued.

The present study, then, is concerned with the effect of the changing occupational structure and the increasing migration out of rural areas on the career beginnings and occupational destinations of particular individuals. The individuals are men and women who graduated from high schools in rural areas of central Iowa in 1948. These individuals will be separated into two broad categories, migrants and non-migrants. Distinctions will be made between the two groups at three different points in time: in 1948, while all were high school seniors, in 1956, and in 1967.

Some of the distinctions made between the migrants and non-migrants concern (1) differences in social psychological behavior preceding migration, (2) difference in social behavior following migration, (3) status of their first jobs, (4) status of their 1956 jobs, (5) status of their 1967 jobs, and (6) advancement over their father's occupational status.

From a practical standpoint, the present study helps to trace the occupational successes or failures of people of rural origin, living in a society characterized by changing occupational needs and demands. The longitudinal nature of the study allows a comparison of the eventual achievement of those who stay in or near their home communities with those who leave; specifically, it reveals whether those who migrate to cities can surmount the disadvantages of leaving their community of socialization and take advantage of increased opportunities. The study will be useful to high school guidance counselors in recognizing students who are likely to leave their home communities and to urban vocational counselors in dealing with the abilities, interests, and potentialities of rural-raised migrants.

From a theoretical point of view, the present study attempts to add to the research which examines how different types of mobility are interrelated, the extent to which occupational and socioeconomic change accompanies migration, and whether that change represents upward or downward social mobility.

The most extensive studies of social mobility within a changing occupational structure are by Blau and Duncan (6) and Lipset and Bendix (43). A few studies, such as those of Scudder and Anderson (59) and Ellis and Lane (27), relate the effect of specific variables, migration and personality behavior, on upward mobility. The former studies, however, use an ex post facto design while the latter follow the respondents over a limited time period. The present study combines the objectives of the previous ones through a longitudinal research design which permits evaluation of the respondents' personality behavior before migration as well as of the extent of social mobility achieved 20 years later.

The specific objectives are the following:

1. To examine social-psychological traits which may be related to migration performance.
2. To examine social behavior which may result from the migration experience.
3. To examine migration in relation to occupational mobility.
4. To examine migration in relation to mobility over one's father's occupational status.
5. To examine migration in relation to occupational mobility within one's own lifetime.

These objectives will be pursued in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The community in which a person is raised, just as the race or ethnic group into which he is born, defines an ascriptive base that may affect his adult occupational achievements. Migration partly removes these ascribed restrictions on achievement by enabling an individual to take advantage of opportunities not available in his original community.

Migration is the major variable examined in this thesis. It will be discussed within the purview of two major conceptual areas. Migration will first be examined as a dependent variable in its relationship to certain social psychological characteristics. Accordingly, characteristics distinguishing migrants from non-migrants will be discussed in this chapter, followed by a discussion of several theories offering social psychological explanations of migration. Migration also will be examined as an independent variable in its relationship to upward social mobility. The general meaning of social mobility and some specific patterns of mobility that may affect migrants in different ways than non-migrants will be discussed in this chapter.

The last part of this chapter will contain a summary of the conceptual areas and a presentation of hypotheses.

Migrants Versus Non-migrants

The process of migration almost always involves some sort of job shifting. Many researchers have documented the occupational advantages enjoyed by migrants as compared to their non-migrant contemporaries. Blau and Duncan (6) in their extensive survey of "Occupational Changes in a Generation," found that the careers of migrants surpassed those of non-migrants in prestige and income. Previously, Scudder and Anderson (59) had found that individuals who migrated from small communities in Kentucky were more upwardly mobile than those who remained behind. Schwarzweller found that high school graduates who did not migrate had even less material success than drop-outs who moved to industrial areas (58).

In viewing the superior occupational achievements of migrants as compared to non-migrants, most researchers focus on migration as a selective process, examining the qualities of migrants which differentiate them from non-migrants. Bowles, for example, found that those who migrate differ from non-migrants as to age, sex, marital status, intelligence, education, income, and employment (9).

More specifically, Olson found that high educational attainment, high social status, and a greater amount of knowledge concerning jobs available outside one's home community were related to migration (50). Martinson's study of young Minnesota migrants reported that social aggressiveness was an important factor in the migration of girls, while academic achievement in high school and urban-oriented interests were more important in the migration of boys (47).

A special study (72) by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the characteristics of migrants who moved between March 1962 and March 1963, together with data from the 1960 census, indicated that most migrants were better educated than those who did not move; 25 percent of the young men who migrated between 1955 and 1960 were college graduates compared with nine percent of the non-migrants. Young men who followed professional and technical occupations had exceptionally high geographic movement as compared to blue-collar workers.

The overwhelming evidence of "superior" traits of migrants seems to indicate that migration is selective of men with greater potential for occupational achievement. Such findings, however, do not rule out the alternative hypothesis that migration is an advantageous experience that improves a man's occupational abilities by freeing him from the job limitations in his home community and opening up almost limitless new opportunities. Blau and Duncan (6), in fact, found that the residual differences when training and early experiences are controlled lend credence to the notion that the migration process in itself promotes success.

Blau and Duncan further suggested that the residual superiority of the migrants may have been due also to some other background factors that were not reflected in education, socioeconomic status or financial position, but more related to the migrants' personality structure. They cite initiative as an example. Other researchers have begun to analyze personality factors differentiating migrants from non-migrants. Martinson's study of young Minnesota migrants reported that aspects of personal adjustment were related to and perhaps causative of migration from rural communities to urban areas (47).

Following the suggestion of previous migration studies, social-psychological behavior which may help explain differences between migrants and non-migrants and help account for their later occupational achievements will be examined in this thesis. Accordingly, in the next section a theoretical rationale for social-psychological behavior that distinguishes migrants from non-migrants will be set forth. Also investigated in this thesis will be post-migration accomplishments of migrants as compared to non-migrants in view of possible personality differences and with recognition of the migrants' increased opportunities outside of their high school community of residence. The last two sections of this chapter will contain a review of the literature dealing with mobility patterns of migrants and non-migrants. The over-all result of the conceptual framework presented herein is a merging of the sociological and psychological approaches to the study of social mobility.

Social-psychological Aspects of Migration

Dissociative hypothesis

At the turn of the century Durkheim set forth some theories of social isolation. He said that any phenomenon which tends to increase an individual's social isolation and his loneliness favors an increase in suicide. Cooley in Social Organization, published in 1909, stated that any change of occupation or socioeconomic status requires new efforts and new work from an individual, increasing the activity of the nervous system and causing a permanent mental strain (15).

Sorokin built upon the ideas of Durkheim and Cooley to establish what sociologists later called the dissociative hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, mobility "diminishes intimacy and increases psycho-social isolation and loneliness of individuals" (68); the mobile man is unattached to anything or anybody. Although individual restlessness and rootlessness result in a psychological cost to the individual, they are a benefit to society because they result in increased creativity, adaptability, and circulation of the elite.

According to Blau, occupational mobility, both upward and downward, poses special dilemmas for establishing interpersonal relationships and becoming integrated into the community (5). Occupationally mobile men are marginal men, out of tune with others, both in their new and original strata in the occupational hierarchy. Consequently, if the mobile person is neither well integrated among those whose socio-economic status he once shared, nor among those whose socio-economic status he strives to assume, his behavior can be expected to deviate from that prevalent in both groups. Blau found that many beliefs and practices of the upwardly mobile and of the downwardly mobile are intermediate between those of the stationary highs and of the stationary lows. Crockett expects that the lesser social integration of the mobile will be manifest in stronger feelings of insecurity (17).

Ameliorative hypothesis

Ellis and Lane (26) consider the ameliorative hypothesis a major alternative to the dissociative hypothesis, since it assumes that every instance of mobility need not require personality adjustment. The ameliorative hypothesis, which refers to the notion of lower-class persons gaining acceptance by middle-class groups whose values, norms, and judgmental standards they emulate, is based upon reference group theory.

Reference-group theory, particularly as it has been systematized by Merton and Rossi (49), refers to the process through which men relate themselves to groups: groups to whose values they refer their own behavior and with whose members they compare themselves in appraising various aspects of their situation.

Lipset and Bendix (44) have applied the reference group concept to social mobility. They assume that the potentially upwardly mobile usually undergo anticipatory socialization, that is, they absorb the norms and behavior traits of the higher strata long before they have actually changed their social positions. Such anticipatory socialization causes individuals to become "non-conformists" within their social group and to function without strong primary group ties. Lipset and Bendix noted that various psychological studies have indicated that the ability to conform to the norms of groups of which they are not yet members is part of the personality syndrome of the upwardly mobile individual.

Compensatory hypothesis

Psychoanalytically-oriented social scientists interpret the effects of migration according to a third theoretical explanation, the compensatory hypothesis. To them social isolation is not a consequence of mobility but a concomitant of it. The compensatory hypothesis holds that mobile individuals are different to begin with: socially inept, constrained individuals, socially deprived because of childhood and early adolescent experiences, who turn to status strivings to compensate for their feelings of deprivation. Those who rise in the social structure may, as adults, encounter inordinate difficulties in establishing close ties with others, but this isolation is only a "continuation of (the same) superficial, impermanent primary group relations that originally motivated them to their class circumstances" (24).

Various studies have focussed on the inherent personality traits of mobile individuals. Lipset (42) found that "rural and small town dwellers, if they move out of the status of their parents, are most likely to do so in a large city, while their more stable neighbors remain in their place of origin." Martinson showed that non-migrant farm boys were more closely identified and "adjusted to" their families and home communities than migrant farm boys (47).

A comprehensive study of business leaders by Warner and Abegglen found that the upwardly mobile, as compared to the non-mobile, showed stronger traits of independence along with an inability to form intimate relationships (76). Consequently, they were often socially isolated men. The authors hypothesized that the upwardly mobile were escaping from depressed family atmospheres in which the father was an inadequate and unreliable figure.

Ellis' study of mobile career women, who had few friends and were more socially isolated as adults than the non-mobile, showed that larger proportions of mobile women than non-mobile had experienced at least partial rejection by parents who had shown favoritism toward a sibling or siblings (24). A significantly greater proportion of the mobile indicated less attachment to their parents.

Interrelationship of the three hypotheses

The three hypotheses dealing with the individual's social-psychological reaction to migration can be distinguished by their temporal relationship to the concept "mobility." The dissociative hypothesis says that upward mobility precedes social isolation, while the compensatory hypothesis says that social isolation precedes mobility. These are clearly competing theories, that is, they cannot both be true at the same time. The ameliorative hypothesis is a competing alternative to the dissociative one; if anticipatory socialization provides extinction of old patterns of habit and thought as well as acquisition of new ones, then mobility will not result in social isolation. The ameliorative hypothesis is not necessarily a competing one with the compensatory hypothesis, for they may both exist together. For example, an individual who is by nature socially inept and isolated and who can be expected to strive for upward mobility, may nevertheless have absorbed the values, norms, and judgmental standards of the group to which he aspires.

Ellis and Lane (26), who have labeled these alternative hypotheses which explain the impact of mobility on an individual, have devised a method of testing the dissociative hypothesis against the compensatory and ameliorative ones. In order to make this test methodologically, it would be necessary to capture upwardly mobile individuals at a time of major status transition to determine whether a significant step in upward mobility is, in fact, accompanied by a period of social isolation. Ellis and Lane reasoned that "if social isolation is a result, independent evidence needs to be gathered as to whether this isolation can be attributed to 1) earlier inability to form effective social relations or 2) the absence of anticipatory socialization."

Research by Ellis and Lane, using 126 male undergraduates entering Stanford University in the fall of 1958, verified the so-called dissociative hypothesis. For those respondents, a prolonged period of estrangement was the normal, direct consequence of upward mobility (26). They found no earlier inability to form effective social relations, or in effect, they rejected the compensatory hypothesis. In an earlier study using the same respondents (27), Ellis and Lane had found that anticipatory socialization existed, but as a gradual, continuing process that was only partially effective in preparing mobile individuals for the middle-class world they were entering. In effect, they did not completely accept the ameliorative hypothesis.

The reference group theory upon which Ellis and Lane based their ameliorative hypothesis deals with specific types of reference groups, namely, those based upon social class. In testing the dissociative hypothesis against its two alternatives, Ellis and Lane focussed on social class. Their sample consisted of lower-class youth, and they tested the success of their adjustment to a middle-class subculture, college. The present thesis will attempt to test the dissociative hypothesis against its competing alternatives emphasizing a type of mobility experience other than that between social classes. The emphasis here will not be on the effects of movement from lower class to middle class. Since most of the respondents started from a middle-class background, the major adjustment they faced was not the acceptance and internalization of middle-class over lower-class values and norms.

The emphasis in the present thesis is rather on the meaning of geographic movement, movement out of rural social systems characterized by cohesion and solidarity either into different rural areas, or more likely, into urban areas. To test the dissociative hypothesis against its competing alternatives using a rural-non-rural distinction, the ameliorative hypothesis is respecified. Rather than Ellis and Lane's lower-class or middle-class reference groups, the reference groups in the present thesis will be based on Loomis and Beegle's (46) Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft systems, drawn from the ideal-type concepts of Toennies. Specifically, individuals with Gemeinschaft values can be expected to treat relationships as ends in themselves, determined by norms which are personal or particular, and characterized by emotional or affective behavior. Those respondents with Gesellschaft values treat relationships as means to ends, with relationships governed by affective neutrality. In terms of anticipatory socialization, then, those individuals who are able to anticipate Gesellschaft relationships prevalent in non-rural systems while they are yet residing in Gemeinschaft social systems, are prepared to make the transition without ill effect.

Mobility

The concept mobility refers to several different types of movement. Geographic mobility is the migration of a person out of one community and the establishment of residence in another community. Social mobility is movement of individuals from positions in the social structure possessing a certain rank to positions of either higher or lower rank in that system. Certain theorists known as functionalists believe that the status-role positions in a social system can be ranked according to their importance to that social system. In an industrial society, the basis for such social stratification is an occupational hierarchy, with the ordering of occupations according to their significance for the preservation of the society.

In 1945 Davis and Moore published their functional stratification theory (19). According to it, society has a vast array of different tasks to be accomplished in order to assure its survival. For the society to remain functional, men performing the more useful, important, and valuable occupational tasks receive greater rewards in the form of privilege, material goods, and power. A society survives, at least in part, by giving disproportionately large rewards to persons in positions which provide the most valuable services. The rewards need be adequate only to secure a sufficient number of people in the required positions. Taylor, for example, has noted that the reward system is negatively aimed at keeping the less essential positions from competing successfully with the more essential positions (69).

The occupational hierarchy serves as a mediating, adjusting device between the services necessary to preserve the social order and the rewards necessary to elicit those contributions. The occupational structure in modern industrial society not only constitutes an important foundation for the main dimensions of social stratification but also serves as the connecting link between different institutions and spheres of life (6). According to Parsons and Smelser, it is the link between the economy and the family through which the economy affects the family's status and the family supplies manpower to the economy (52). When the head of a household advances through the occupational hierarchy, the status of his dependent family as well as his own moves upward.

According to the functionalists, then, the hierarchy of occupational strata, which reveals the relationship between the social contributions men make by furnishing various services and the rewards they receive in return, is a hierarchy differentiated by prestige. Members of a social system will esteem most highly those occupational tasks which provide the most useful services and consequently offer the most privilege, power, and material goods to those who provide those tasks. On an empirical basis, occupations have been ranked according to the prestige they entail. In 1947 North and Hatt constructed a scale from a National

Opinion Research Center (NORC) study of a comprehensive list of occupations (32). In constructing the NORC scale, North and Hatt listed 90 occupational titles representing 88 separate occupations, including two functioning as a reliability check. The occupational titles were arbitrarily judged to be a representative cross-section of all occupational statuses for which prestige scores can be derived. The titles were based on Smith's (66) earlier compilation of occupational titles, eliminating deviant-behavior occupations and those subsumed under more general types, and adding some frequently reported occupations from the 1940 census.

The social prestige of the occupations was rated "excellent," "good," "average," "somewhat below average," and "poor" by a nationwide sample of 2,900 Americans. The five rating categories were assigned arbitrary weights and

> ... the sum of the products of the percent in each category and the arbitrary weight then was divided by five to yield an average score for each occupation. The resulting score thus has a theoretical maximum of 100 and a minimum of 20. In general, the 88 stimuli form a progression, from a score of 96 for U. S. Supreme Court justice to 33 for shoeshiner, with a substantial number of dual scores (55).

Simpson and Simpson (62) have empirically tested whether occupational prestige is a valid measure of an occupation's functional importance. In a 1960 study, 21 social science graduate students rated the 90 North-Hatt occupations on the basis of responsibility, training, education, skill required in the occupation, and personal autonomy. The principal finding was that training, education, skill, and responsibility collectively accounted for the great amount of variance in occupational prestige. Simpson and Simpson thus concluded that their data were consistent with the functional theory of stratification because functional responsibility is a close estimate of functional importance (62).

If a person's rank in the occupational hierarchy determines his status in the social system, then occupational mobility is a more specific form of social mobility. Occupational mobility can refer to any sort of change in the occupational hierarchy, either shifting from one type of occupation to a different type possessing equivalent prestige, or moving upward to a job possessing a higher status (more functional to society) or downward to a job possessing a lower status (less functional to society).

For simplification, most empirical studies on occupational mobility classify occupations into three broad categories of manual, non-manual, and farm. Lipset and Bendix (43) have assumed that moving from manual to non-manual employment constitutes upward mobility among males for the following reasons: 1) most male non-manual occupations have more prestige than most manual occupations, even skilled ones; 2) among males, white-collar positions generally lead to higher incomes than manual employment; 3) non-manual positions in general require more education than manual positions; and 4) holders of non-manual positions, even low-paid white-collar jobs, are more likely than manual workers to think of themselves as members of the middle class.

Writers have in general avoided stating whether the movement of farmers into the other two categories, manual and non-manual, represents upward or downward mobility. Lipset and Bendix (43) have offered the explanation that farm families are of various socio-economic levels and that their occupational classification is not as closely correlated with socio-economic status as is the occupational classification of the urban population. While the prestige of white-collar workers, as empirically measured on the North-Hatt scale, ranges approximately between 67 and 74, and the prestige of skilled blue-collar workers ranges between 55 and 66, prestige for farm workers touches all levels. For example, a hired hand received a score of 50, a tenant farmer, 68, and a farm owner and operator, 76.

Empirical studies on vertical mobility have almost totally neglected women. From a practical standpoint, data on women's careers is sketchy since women only differentially engage in the occupational world. Taylor stated that by the 1960's more than 35 percent of American females over 14 were employed in the American labor market (69). One-third of the married women living with their husbands were employed outside of the home, and 35 percent of the women with no children under age 18 were employed.

Theorists explain the status of women in terms of their husbands' positions in the occupational hierarchy. Lenski has stated:

> ... For the great majority of women, the role of wife and mother is the major source of rewards in adult years. Unlike male occupational roles, however, this role is highly diversified, yielding rewards which vary almost as greatly as the total spectrum of male roles. This is only natural since the rewards accruing to a housewife are determined largely by her husband's role. Hence, for purposes of analysis in the field of stratification, it would be far more realistic if there were an explicit distinction between the role of housewife married to a banker, for example, and housewife married to an unskilled worker (40).

Since women share the benefits of their husbands' status-roles, Lenski concluded that "the best opportunity for upward mobility occurs during the period of courtship. In the marriage market, the resources which are most relevant for women are quite different from those which are most relevant in the markets where men compete." Lenski believed that physical appearance is of considerable importance. Its considerable dependence on genetic determination introduces a certain randomizing element into the picture, thereby stimulating vertical mobility.

Since mobility for women is less dependent on family socio-economic status and education than it is for men, Lenski suspected that the mobility opportunities for women are "somewhat greater" than for men. To substantiate this belief, he cited the Detroit Area Study of 1958. The Detroit Study compared occupations of males with the occupations of their fathers and the occupations of the females' husbands with those of the females' fathers. It was found that 30 percent of the males and 34 percent of the married females were mobile across the non-manual versus manual and farm line.

Occupational and social status are associated with many factors, such as level of income, consumption patterns, level of aspiration, family structure, community reputation, and use of leisure time, which, taken together, constitute a style of life. Differences in life style, which connotes the way people in various classes live, as compared to persons in other classes, is the key to social class differences. Upwardly socially mobile individuals can be expected to be oriented toward middle-class values. Some of these values are great stress on occupational achievement, high regard for education, and high aspirations for children. In a statewide study of high school seniors, Sewell, Haller and Strauss concluded that there was a relationship between occupational and educational aspirations for children and parental occupational prestige status (60).

Lipset and Bendix (43) noted the effect that a change in occupational setting has on the life style of an individual. They observed that white-collar workers behave differently from small businessmen or skilled workers, and when a manual worker moves to a white-collar job he often feels and acts as if he has moved from one class to another even though the prestige of his new occupation may be no greater than that of his old one. In the same vein, Bauder and Burchinal (3) recognized the difference in life style between farm and non-farm residents. They cited the "traditional lower value placed on education by farm residents" as the reason that farm-migrant couples to Des Moines had lower aspirations for their children's education than had couples without farm backgrounds.

In summary, functionalists theorize that the differential distribution of rewards and deprivations based on occupations must be true. Empiricists have shown that occupations do indeed have social reality, a direct meaning for status positions. The movement of individuals upward through a hierarchy of positions is conspicuously emphasized in the traditional American ideology. This movement often involves change in life style. The next two sections in this chapter will discuss two major patterns of occupational mobility.

Inter-generational mobility

Most of the empirical studies of mobility have given almost exclusive attention to "occupational mobility." A standard type of occupational mobility study is the inter-generational type, which compares the status of a member of a particular generation with the status of a member of the preceding generation. Typically, the comparison has been between the highest occupational attainment of a father and the occupations of his son or sons at some point during their careers. Comparisons may be of several types; for example, comparisons may be between the "principal" job of the father and the job of his son at a certain age, or between the highest status job of the father and the job of his son at a particular point in time.

A central feature of most quantitative studies of inter-generational mobility is the mobility table. The mobility table cross-classifies the father's occupation by his son's occupation, indicating the frequency of movement from any position to any other position in the occupational structure. The frequency of coincidence of sons' occupations with fathers' occupations is taken as the amount of mobility experienced by the population. Mobility tables uniformly show deviation from random distribution, that is, they show that the filial status is statistically and positively dependent on parental status in varying degrees (29). Specifically, Rogoff has noted that one of the recurrent findings in previous research on occupational mobility was that sons are more likely to enter their father's occupation than any other single occupation (57).

Sons are likely to pursue their fathers' occupations under certain conditions: (1) if the fathers are self-employed; (2) if the self-employed fathers utilize substantial capital in the pursuit of their occupations; (3) if entry into the father's occupation is regulated by licensing, examinations, union control, apprenticeship or other obstacles that are the parental status may aid the son to overcome; and (4) if the parental occupation requires special training or education (29).

Quantitative studies of inter-generational mobility do not always compare a son's specific job to his father's specific job. Other comparisons made between the generations are general occupational category to general occupational category (such as manual to non-manual or farm) and prestige level to prestige level. Even using these broader comparisons, there is evidence of strong connection between father and son in occupation. Community-focussed investigations of social class, such as the studies published by W. L. Warner and his associates, implied that mobility was rare and class lines were firm. Cultural determinists express grave doubts about the ability of an individual to rise much above the occupational status level of his father. Lipset and Bendix stated that:

> ... If an individual comes from the working class, he will typically receive little education or vocational advice; while he attends school, his job plans for the future will be vague and when he leaves school he is likely to take the first available job he can find. The poverty, lack of planning, and failure to explore fully the available job opportunities that characterize the working class family are handed down from generation to generation. The same accumulation of factors, which in the working class creates a series of mounting disadvantages, works to the advantage of a child coming from a well-to-do family (43).

They thus concluded that the social status of parents and the education of their children are closely related both to the nature of the children's first jobs and to the pattern of their later careers.

Yet recent statistics have indicated that a large majority of men are engaged in occupations different from the occupations of their fathers. In 1953 Rogoff (57) noted that from 60 to 75 percent of the population were engaged in occupations other than those followed by their fathers. She concluded that occupational mobility was more prevalent than occupational immobility or inheritance, that is, assuming the same job as one's father. More recently, the most comprehensive information on intergenerational occupational mobility of adult males in the United States was obtained in March of 1962 as part of a nationwide survey conducted by the United States Census Bureau (74). The data indicated a substantial amount of occupational shifting of adult males among 17 broad groups of occupations (6).

Writers generally attribute father-son occupational differences to societal changes, specifically to the changing occupational distribution from one generation to the next. When occupational distribution changes from one generation to the next, it is impossible for all sons to remain in the occupational statuses of their fathers.

Industrialization is the major cause of changes in occupational opportunity structure, according to most writers. Industrialization has been responsible for increasing occupational opportunities in white-collar and professional occupations and decreasing availability of positions for manual and for farm workers. After industrialization has advanced, job opportunities can be expected to stabilize. Ramsøy (54), for example, has observed that the more urbanized and industrialized the place of residence, the greater was the similarity in the occupational distribution of fathers and sons. In terms of mobility, then, the tendency is toward a higher rate of net occupational mobility in localities where agriculture and other non-industrial occupations predominate.

The increasing degree of inter-generational mobility found among people living in or near rural areas has been obvious for several generations. About the turn of the century, a study of Minnesota farmers by C. Zimmerman showed that while 85.5 percent of the farmers had farmer-fathers, only 63.7 percent of their children had entered farming at 18 years and older (68). Blau and Duncan (6) found that in 1962, again 85 percent of those who were farmers were sons of farmers, but only 16.4 percent of all of the sons of farmers and farm managers were engaged in farming.

It should be stressed that inter-generational mobility is much greater for those who leave the rural areas than for those who remain. Scudder and Anderson (59) compared the mobility of migrants and non-migrants to the achievement of their fathers in a small Kentucky community. They found that occupational inheritance was greater for the remaining than for the migrant sons, with fewer of the migrants entering occupations rated at the same prestige level as those of their fathers. There was a moderate upward trend in mobility among the migrants as compared with their fathers, while a marked downward drift of mobility characterized the non-migrant sons.

Intra-generational mobility

Occupational movement takes place not only between one generation and the next, but from one time period to another in the career of an individual. A few studies have dealt with the mobility experienced by individuals during the course of their lifetimes. In these intra-generational studies, mobility is measured by comparing the occupational position of an individual at two or more points in time during his occupational career.

The few existing studies which trace the careers of individuals over time attest to the substantial amount of occupational shifting within the life of one generation. Blau and Duncan's analysis (6) of the 1962 nation-wide sample survey of occupational mobility of United States men showed that only 23.6 percent of the men had the same occupation in which they began their careers. Many who had not changed were young men who had been in the labor force only a short time.

Lipset and Bendix (43) found job mobility prevalent in their analysis of the work histories of a sample of Oakland, California, middle-status labor force as of 1949. A large proportion of the respondents had worked in different communities, in different kinds of occupations, and at a number of different jobs. Shifting from one occupation to another generally occurred between occupational positions of similar status levels, that is, within manual or non-manual occupations rather than between them. Rogoff (57) noted that career studies generally indicate that no more than 50 percent of the population moves out of the occupational class in which the first position was held. Similarly, the Oakland labor-market study found that the first job is generally an excellent predictor of the subsecuent career (43).

Individuals in different occupational classes, however, show different degrees of mobility between varying types of jobs. The high degree of movement of those who began work in farm jobs is an exception to the norm of stability across the broad occupational categories. Sorokin hypothesized that:

> ... other conditions being equal...members of occupations which disappear shift more intensely than members of occupations which develop and prosper... In a country where agriculture does not rapidly disappear, the occupational mobility of those engaged in agriculture is likely to be slow; in a country where agriculture dies out, the shifting of agriculturalists to other occupations is likely to be high (68).

The decline in the number of farmers in our society has had implications for the careers of rural people. The agricultural ladder, on which a farm boy is first a non-paid laborer on his father's farm, then a hired man, then a tenant, then operator of a mortgaged farm, and finally a farm owner, is becoming increasingly difficult to climb. Rogers (56) noted that larger farms require more capital to finance, that a longer life expectancy means most farmers are not ready to retire when their sons are old enough to work full-time, and that rising costs make it more difficult to enter farming without help.

If a rural young man entering the labor force sees little prospect for mobility in farming, he can enter a low level job in the rural area or migrate with prospects of improving his mobility chances. Blau and Duncan (6) have found a tendency for the rural migrants to start at low-status manual occupations because they are less aware of white-collar jobs than men reared in cities, and consequently are not able to compete effectively for them. Lipset (42) provided a similar explanation for the low occupational levels of the rural-raised people in his sample of persons employed in the San Francisco Bay area. He concluded that the general lack of educational facilities and the limited occupational differentiation in rural areas restrict the rural youth's range of knowledge, thus resulting in low levels of educational and occupational aspirations. He hypothesized that low levels of aspiration produced the low levels of achievement observed over a time period.

Lipset (42) suggested the following relationship between social mobility and community of orientation: those who grow up in small communities and remain in them are the least upwardly mobile, while those who are socialized in metropolitan areas have the most opportunity for upward mobility.

The expansion in the proportion of white-collar jobs, along with the declining proportion of farmers' sons, has resulted in an increased rate of upward intra-generational mobility into white-collar occupations, according to Lipset and Bendix (43). Rogers (56) noted that farm people who leave the farm and migrate to the city are fairly evenly distributed in both high and low status urban occupations. Although they may have started in low-level jobs, the advantages existing in the non-rural labor market results in higher achievement over the years for migrants than for their contemporaries who have remained in their community of upbringing.

Summary

The preceding review of the literature illustrates the effect of migration out of rural areas on an individual's personal adjustment and subsequent occupational attainment. Migrants have been found to suffer from feelings of insecurity, either intrinsic to their psychological make-up or resulting from the rigors of the migration experience. Accordingly, migration may be just one manifestation of the social isolation characterizing an individual, or it may be in itself the cause of feelings of social isolation which can be overcome if the individual has had proper anticipatory socialization.

Other researchers who are not particularly interested in the social-psychological aspects of migration have found that migrants out of rural areas differ from non-migrants in their levels of career aspiration and awareness of opportunities outside of their locale. Some migrants had not intended to leave home while they were yet in high school, but were forced out because of the lack of opportunities on the increasingly-mechanized farms, the inability to raise the capital to start in farming themselves, and the inability to find a satisfying non-farming career in the rural area.

Regardless of the motivation to leave their home communities, rural migrants have achieved higher prestige occupations than rural non-migrants. Lack of data in the present study prevents an examination of the findings that migrants from rural areas do not achieve occupational status levels as high as those achieved by urban natives.

In addition to the migrant-non-migrant comparisons, the present study analyzes occupational mobility in its two complementary aspects, inter-generational mobility, comparison of one's career with one's father's achievement, and intra-generational, a look at the career mobility of a single individual over time. In an increasingly industrialized society, rural origins have special implications for these two kinds of mobility.

There is almost perfect occupational inheritance among farmers, that is, almost every farmer is the son of a farmer. Not every farmer's son, however, has the opportunity or desire to become a farmer, so that occupational inheritance is greater for the non-migrant than for the migrant sons. With the declining proportion of manpower needed to operate farms, shifting of agriculturalists to other occupations and between occupational status levels is high. While migrants from rural areas may enter the labor market at low-strata occupations, they tend to have more occupational mobility over time than the rural non-migrants.

Specification of the Hypotheses

The preceding review of literature has shown that migration performance is related to background factors in an individual's life-situation and to his personality and that in turn these factors affect his occupational achievement. The concept migration therefore is the central distinguishing concept of each hypothesis; the relationship between migration performance and antecedent social-psychological behavior will be examined in General Hypothesis I. The relationship between migration performance and later mobility attitudes and occupational achievements will be examined in the remaining hypotheses.

The hypotheses are stated first in general form, indicating the theoretical relationship between concepts, with empirical subhypotheses specifying the relationship between operational measures. General hypotheses will be accepted or rejected on the basis of the results of the testing of the empirical hypotheses.

Social-psychological behavior and migration performance

General Hypothesis I: An individual's migration performance is related to the nature of his interpersonal relationships.

The first hypothesis tests the compensatory theory which holds that feelings of insecurity characterize the migrant from his early childhood, and that migration is only one manifestation of his attempt to compensate for feelings of rejection or inadequacy. It also tests the ameliorative hypothesis which holds that a potentially mobile person will withdraw from his social milieu and relate to persons whom he hopes to emulate and to groups which he aspires to enter. Sub-hypotheses 1 and 2 specify the expected isolation from primary family and identification with significant others which distinguished migrants from non-migrants in 1948 while they were all high school seniors.

Sub-hypothesis 1: Migrants from rural areas will communicate about plans for the future less frequently with their parents than will non-migrants.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Migrants from rural areas will seek advice concerning their future plans more often from persons other than family members than will non-migrants.

General Hypothesis II: An individual's migration performance is related to subsequent social isolation and discontent.

If the higher aspirations and consequent achievement levels of migrants are related to inability to form close, interpersonal relations, then migrants can be expected to continue their patterns of striving and to persist in their feelings of discomfort after migration. If migrants do not differ intrinsically in personality from non-migrants, they may still be expected, according to the dissociative theory, to feel alienated in their new situation as a result of the disruptive ingredients of the migration experience.

Sub-hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 specify the expected dissatisfaction with the 1956 situation that characterizes migrants. The next chapter of this thesis will explain why 1956 data were utilized to determine post-migration indications of social isolation and discontent.

> Sub-hypothesis 3: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will be less active in formal organizations.
>
> Sub-hypothesis 4: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will express less satisfaction for their place of residence.
>
> Sub-hypothesis 5: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will express less satisfaction for their job.

Mobility and migration

A man's economic chances are improved by his mobility, his not being rooted to his place of birth through psychological attachment or economic limitation but free to leave it for better opportunities elsewhere. Migration is an expression of his capacity to move. Both the psychological make-up of the migrant and his contact with educational and occupational opportunities have been found to be related to his later achievement in life and to his later life style or social status orientation.

General Hypothesis III: Migration performance is related to upward mobility.

Sub-hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 refer to specific examples of mobility and to attitudes characterizing mobile individuals. Data from the 1967 survey are utilized for examining these hypotheses. An individual's level of occupational prestige has been found to be one of the most important indicators of status. The upwardly mobile individual recognizes the importance of continuing training for his own occupational advancement, and has high aspirations for his children.

Sub-hypothesis 6: Migrants will be engaged in higher prestige occupations than will non-migrants.

Sub-hypothesis 7: After having established their careers, migrants will desire more additional training than will non-migrants.

Sub-hypothesis 8: Migrants will have higher educational aspirations for their children than will non-migrants.

Inter-generational mobility

A strong relationship exists between the occupational status of fathers and the occupational status of the positions in which their sons spend the greater part of their careers, especially among farmers and to a lesser extent, rural population. Migration out of rural areas, where most of the occupations concern farming, has special importance for mobility, since the migrants will enter non-farming occupations, different from their fathers'.

Migrants ill-prepared to enter the urban labor market will start at low-level jobs, but a review of the literature suggests that migrants start at higher levels than non-migrants because of personal qualities, superior education, and superior job opportunities outside of their home communities. Over time, migrants make even greater gains than non-migrants, as compared with their fathers. Studies have shown that a relationship exists between migration and upward mobility in vocation levels as compared to one's father.

The 1948, 1956, and 1967 data are utilized in examining the following hypotheses.

General Hypothesis IV: Migration performance is related to inter-generational mobility.

Sub-hypothesis 9: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will show less occupational inheritance.

Sub-hypothesis 10: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will enter the labor force at a higher (more positive or less negative) prestige level relative to their fathers'.

Intra-generational mobility

Migration has been found to be selective of those who are better prepared for occupational success either through education and socio-economic status or through personal qualities. The high degree of association among mobility indicators of different kinds is specified in sub-hypothesis 13. Although rural migrants to cities tend to occupy relatively low positions in the urban occupational hierarchy, they tend to experience a greater degree of mobility as compared to rural non-migrants because of their contact with more high status jobs.

The 1956 and 1967 data are utilized in examining the following hypotheses.

General Hypothesis V: Migration performance is related to intra-generational mobility.

Sub-hypothesis 11: Migrants will achieve a greater increase in prestige over their first jobs than will non-migrants.

Sub-hypothesis 12: Migrants will increase their occupational prestige at a faster rate than will non-migrants.

Sub-hypothesis 13: Migrants will change jobs more frequently than will non-migrants during their years in the labor force.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The first section of this chapter is devoted to an explanation of the data-gathering process. Next is a discussion of the measurement techniques used for the enumeration and analysis of the major variables, migration performance and upward mobility. The third section presents the measurement techniques for the variables examined in relation to migration performance. The final section describes the statistical techniques used in testing the hypotheses.

Gathering the Data

The research design in this thesis necessarily is a longitudinal study tracing occupational careers over a nineteen year period of time. The benchmark study was conducted in 1948 when the respondents were seniors in eight rural high schools in Hamilton County, Iowa, and in the Story City, Iowa, High School. At that time there were 174 seniors attending the nine high schools. All students present on the day that the investigator visited the various schools filled out schedules. A total of 157 (90 percent) responded to the individual questionnaires on background characteristics, migration intentions, educational and occupational aspirations, and attitudes toward farming.

Data concerning migration intentions were analyzed and reported by Bohlen in 1948 (7). A follow-up study of the benchmark sample was conducted in 1956 and again in 1967. In the 1956 study data were obtained from 152 of the initial respondents. (Two of the 1948 respondents were deceased and three did not wish to answer an additional questionnaire.) Eighty-seven percent of the respondents were interviewed personally. For the thirteen percent of the respondents who could not be interviewed personally, a special modification of the interview schedule was prepared for mailing. Hildahl (33) completed analysis of the second phase of data in 1961, looking at the actual migration performance of the 1948 seniors.

In 1967 a second follow-up study was conducted. Data for the 1967 study were gathered by mailed questionnaire, except for ten schedules which were gathered by personal interview. There were 144 questionnaires completed in the 1967 restudy. (One respondent was deceased and seven did not wish to continue participation in the study.) Data obtained in the follow-up studies concerned occupational and educational attainments, migration performance, occupational and educational aspirations for their children, and a series of questions about the Iowa Area Vocational Schools.

When the students were originally interviewed in 1948, Hamilton County was rural in nature and one of the richest agricultural counties in the Midwest, with most of its economy based on the production of corn and livestock. Hamilton County was selected for research by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in cooperation with various land-grant colleges and universities. The data from the Hamilton County study were analyzed and reported by Jehlik and Wakeley (36) in 1949, and Bohlen (7) reported some of the preliminary analysis in 1948.

Jehlik and Wakeley characterized Hamilton County:

> Ninety-seven percent of the county area is in farm land and the soil is very fertile. The landscape is typically that of gently rolling prairie. Some of the terrain requires artificial drainage. General farming, with corn the main crop, is combined with the raising and feeding of hogs, beef, cattle, and other livestock.
>
> Normal length of the growing season is 146 days. Rainfall averages 30 inches and temperature 47 degrees. Winters are generally cold and windbreaks are necessary to protect the stock...
>
> In 1940, the 2161 farms averaged 166 acres in size... About one-fourth were less than 100 acres and one-half between 100 and 200 acres. Fewer than one percent were over 500 acres.
>
> Mechanization is highly developed. Almost all farmers have tractors and three of every five farmsteads are electrified. Small grain is combined and most of the corn is picked by mechanical pickers. Hays are handled with mechanized equipment. Wide use of machinery has affected both farm and household work. As a result new sets of skills, techniques, and attitudes among the young and old have developed.
>
> The population consisted of descendants of old-line Americans: Scandinavians, Germans, and other

> north Europeans who came to Hamilton County from states farther east. The amalgamation of these people on this very productive land has resulted in the development of communities typical of the Corn Belt.
>
> The farmers have succeeded in achieving a relatively high level of living. They occupy a rich land, and except in periods of acute economic depression, they find profitable markets for their farm products. Only 12 other counties in Iowa have a higher rural-farm living index. The families live in substantial homes, have adequate food and clothes, sent their children to secondary schools, belong to numerous organizations, and maintain an active contact with the outside world...
>
> A steady amalgamation of nationalities has minimized the old-time class and status differences due to ancestry and church connections. The Norwegians cover a large part of the south-east corner, the Germans tend to be rather numerous in the Kamrar community near the center, some Irish are found along the north-east edge of the county, and some families of French extraction are located in the north-west corner of the county (36).

Story City, located directly south of Hamilton County, was substituted when the officials of Webster City High School refused to participate in the study. It helped provide a sufficient number of respondents to insure that the sample was large enough to analyze statistically. The agronomic, economic, and sociological make-up of Story City was similar to that of the Hamilton County towns, so its inclusion did not distort the original research design.

For the present thesis, the sample size is limited to the 144 respondents who completed questionnaires at all three of the interview periods -- 1948, 1956, and 1967.

Migration Performance

Migration performance is the central variable of this thesis, tested for its relationship with socio-psychological characteristics and to upward occupational mobility. Both Bohlen and Hildahl, in their theses concerning migration intention and performance, respectively, define migration as the permanent departure from the parental home and home community for any reason the migrant may have (7,33). A respondent was considered a migrant if his 1956 residence was outside the boundaries of the community of his 1948 residence. Community social and economic boundaries as delineated by Jehlik and Wakeley (36) were used as the basis for differentiating migrants from non-migrants. These boundaries correspond to school district boundaries. Subsequent studies on the data have used the same criteria for distinguishing the concept "community."

In the present thesis, however, the operational definition of migration has been broadened to include a wider geographic area. A migrant is defined as any individual who was not living in his original township or in a contiguous township at the end of a major phase of the study. A non-migrant is any individual who does not qualify as a migrant. Geographic criteria were used to define migrant because of the need to distinguish individuals who were most likely, through geographic necessity, to have lessened interaction with family, with peer group members, and with teachers and other professionals who may have constituted their reference group.

Many of the migrants in the studies cited above had moved to an adjoining township and may have identified with new economic centers, but in actuality, may have moved just several miles and retained the social contacts, values, and norms learned in their original social system. Migration is a relative concept: an individual is a migrant if he moves out of his parental home. The purpose of this thesis is to distinguish those respondents who migrated substantial distances to allow them to form new social contacts and to take advantage of extra educational and occupational opportunities from those respondents who may have been psychologically, educationally, or occupationally dependent on the resources near their high school community.

Since restudies were made in 1956 and 1967, any individual can be classified as a migrant or a non-migrant for each of those periods. The 1956 and 1967 classifications for any particular respondent do not necessarily agree. For example, a person who was a migrant in 1956, according to the above operational definition, may have been a non-migrant by 1967 if he had returned to a township contiguous to his 1948 community. Examination of data in Table 1 indicates that the majority of respondents were either migrants or non-migrants for both time periods: only about a fifth of the respondents had a different migration status in 1967 from that which they had in 1956.

Table 1. Respondents' 1956 and 1967 migration status

	1967 migrants Number	Percent	1967 non-migrants Number	Percent	Total
1956 migrant	74	51%	7	5%	81
1956 non-migrant	23	16%	40	28%	63
Total	97	67%	47	33%	144

According to Table 1, little more than half of the sample (74, were migrants at both periods of time. Almost 30 percent were non-migrants in both 1956 and 1967. The number of 1956 migrants who came back by 1967 was less than 10 percent, but one-third of the respondents who had not migrated by 1956 left between 1956 and 1967.

Of the variables examined in relationship to migration performance, those testing the social-psychological theories use the 1956 migration status of the respondents. The eight-year interim between the original study and the second phase was considered long enough to permit respondents to reach an occupational status and geographical location free from temporary intervening influences such as military service and college education, but not so long that the individual could have overcome completely the possible disrupting effects of the migration experience.

The migration status at the end of the 1967 phase was used in testing the relationship between migration performance and upward mobility. It is presumed that by 1967 a respondent had adjusted to any possible temporary effects of migration and that mobility could be examined without the interference of intervening variables.

Upward Mobility

The concept "upward mobility" is the major dependent variable examined in this thesis. Of the three major operational indicators of social status, namely, income, education, and the prestige of an occupation in a social structure, occupational prestige is used in this thesis as the basis of determining mobility. The operational measure of occupational prestige is based on the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) study of national opinion of a comprehensive list of occupations (32, 55).

Ranked on a continuum, the scores of the 88 occupations form a skeletal prestige framework within which any unrated occupation can be placed. In 1961 Bauder and Burchinal (3) interpolated scores for approximately 400 additional occupations. They tested the degree of correspondence of the original North-Hatt scores and a random sample of 183 of the 400 interpolations with the opinions of a random sample of Des Moines population. Correlation coefficients of scores, produced by asking Des Moines residents the same questions as were asked in the original North-Hatt study, were +0.973 for occupations included in the original North-Hatt study and +0.844 for the interpolated scores. In 1968 approximately 225 additional interpolations were completed, using the opinions of a group of professional sociologists at Iowa State University.

The original NORC ratings by North and Hatt and the later interpolations were used to rate the 1948 occupations of the fathers of the respondents, and to rate the starting occupations and the 1956 and 1967 occupations of the respondents themselves.[1] Occupational prestige is a more useful indicator of social mobility in this thesis than are education and income because of:

1. The longitudinal research design. In making a comparison between one generation and a successive one, it is difficult to find a single criterion that will serve as a basis of comparison. Blau and Duncan (6) praised the high order of temporal stability of occupational prestige

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[1] The original North-Hatt scores and the interpolations are presented in the Appendix.

ratings in view of the generally rising level of educational attainment and the major changes in the value of the dollar over the years. Hodge, Siegal and Rossi (34) found a +0.99 correlation between prestige scores derived from a 1947 North-Hatt study and a 1963 replication of that study. They concluded that very few changes in occupational prestige ratings have occurred in the sixteen-year period.

2. The large number of farmers in the study. For certain occupations, a rating based upon socio-economic variables such as income and education would be meaningless and biased. Real income of farmers is probably higher in relation to their cash income than is true of urban workers, making income comparisons difficult. Education levels for farmers may be lower than those of the general non-farming population. The North-Hatt scale indicates that the public generally accords the farming occupation higher prestige than would be strictly warranted on the basis of its income and educational level, making it comparable to other occupations.

3. Availability of data. The occupations of the respondents, their fathers, and in the case of the female respondents, of their husbands, are known. Information, however, on income and education of the fathers and of the female respondents' husbands is lacking, and it is incomplete on the male respondents.

Variables Examined with Migration Performance

Antecedent social-psychological behavior

The following two independent variables, frequency of communication with parents and advice-seeking outside of family, are considered indicative of the respondents' degree of integration into their own families or identification with non-family reference groups in 1948, before migration. The communication and advice-seeking actually pertain to discussion of plans for the future. It was felt that how a respondent dealt with a topic of so serious a nature as choosing an occupational role would be a good indicator of his closeness to his family and of his primary reference group orientation.

Communication with parents Communication with parents refers to the frequency with which the respondent, while he was in high school, discussed his future plans with his parents. This variable is based on the question in the 1948 schedule, "Have you discussed plans for your future with your parents frequently, infrequently, or not at all?" For analysis, those who communicated infrequently or not at all were classified as having poor communication, and those who communicated frequently were classified as having good communication. The classification of the sample by communication with parents is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Respondents' 1948 communication with parents

Communication with parents	Number	Percent
Frequently	90	62.5
Infrequently	48	33.3
Not at all	6	4.2
Total	144	100.0

Advice-seeking outside of family Advice-seeking refers to whether the respondent, while in high school, discussed his future plans more often with persons other than family members or with family members. The question they answered in 1948 was, "To whom have you gone for most of your advice on occupation?" For analysis, those who said they went most often to parents, relatives, or boy or girl friend or fiance were considered to be family-oriented. Those who said they went most often to teachers or to professional people were considered to be oriented to professional reference groups. Those who said they sought advice most often from none were excluded from this portion of the study. The classification of the sample by advice-seeking outside of family is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Respondents' 1948 advice-seeking

To whom for advice	Number	Percent
Teachers	7	4.9
Professional people	2	1.4
Relative	6	4.2
Parent	95	66.0
Girl friend, boy friend, fiance	2	1.4
No one	19	13.2
No response	13	9.0
Total	144	100.0

Post-migration behavior and attitudes

The preceding variables considered interpersonal relationships of the respondents while they were seniors in high school. The next group of variables includes those which are considered to be either indicative of behavior or attitudes resulting from the migration experience or associated with upward mobility. Participation in community activities, residence satisfaction and job satisfaction were considered indicative of attitudes pertaining in 1956 when the migrant may have been affected by the uprooting nature of migration; desire for additional training for themselves and aspirations for their children were considered indicative of attitudes that may have persisted in 1967 after the migrants had adjusted to their new environment.

Participation in community activities   Participation in community activities refers to the degree to which the respondent in 1956 joined and took part in formal organizations, as judged by the question, "How would you rank yourself as to activity in organizations?" For analysis, participation in community activities was classified into dichotomized categories of actively participating, including very, fairly, and moderately active, and non-participating, including hardly ever participating or not belonging to any organizations. Table 4 gives the number of respondents in each category.

Table 4. Respondents' 1956 participation in community activities

Participation	Number	Percent
Actively participating	58	40.3
Non-participating	84	58.3
No response	2	1.4
Total	144	100.0

Residence satisfaction   Residence satisfaction refers to whether or not the respondent in 1956 was living in the place he mentioned when asked, "If you could live anywhere in the world that you wanted where would you like to live?" If the respondent was residing in the place he mentioned, he was considered to be satisfied with his residence; if the respondent named a place not currently his residence, he was considered dissatisfied with his current residence. The degree of specificity of the answer was not considered, only its congruence with the respondent's aspiration. For example, a respondent living in Story City could have chosen "Story City," "Iowa," or "the United States" as the place where he would most like to live and have been considered satisfied. In actuality, most respondents replied with a name of a specific town, county, or state. Table 5 gives the respondents' 1956 residence satisfaction.

Table 5. Respondents' 1956 residence satisfaction

Satisfaction	Number	Percent
Living in desired place	76	52.8
Not living in desired place	66	45.9
No response	2	1.4
Total	144	100.0

Job satisfaction   Job satisfaction refers to whether or not the respondents in 1956 was actually working at the job mentioned when asked, "If you could work at any occupation you wished what would you be doing?" If the respondent mentioned the job for which he was training, he was excluded from this part of the study. The male respondents and the unmarried females were rated according to the congruency of their full-time occupation with their desired one. The married females were rated according to more inclusive criteria. If a married female was not in the labor force and said that she would most like to be a housewife, she was considered satisfied; if she worked at either a full- or part-time job and mentioned either her job or housewife, she also was considered satisfied with her occupation. A married female respondent was considered dissatisfied with her occupation only if she mentioned an occupation in which she was not currently engaged. Whether she interpreted "occupation" as a specific occupational title or as her role as wife is not pertinent to this study; only that the respondent expressed satisfaction for her current activity. Table 6 gives the numbers found for the different responses.

Desire for additional training   The desire for additional training refers to whether or not the respondent in 1967 still aspired to improve his educational preparation as judged by the question, "Is there any special training

Table 6. Respondents' 1956 job satisfaction

Satisfaction	Number	Percent
Working at desired occupation	83	57.6
Not working at desired occupation	55	38.2
No answer or not applicable	6	4.2
Total	144	100.0

that you would like to begin now?" The answers were easily dichotomized according to the "yes" or "no" response, and Table 7 shows the number giving each answer.

Table 7. Respondents' 1967 desire for additional training

Desire more training	Number	Percent
Yes	45	31.2
No	93	64.6
No answer	6	4.2
Total	144	100.0

Aspirations for children Aspirations for children refers to the amount of education the respondents wished their children to have. In 1967 they were asked, "How much education would you like your children to have?" They had to indicate, separately for sons and daughters, the highest level of education desirable, choosing among grade school, high school, junior college, college or university, business school, vocational school, or other. For analysis, aspirations for children were dichotomized into college, referring to the category college or university, and other, referring to all other choices. The majority of the "other" choices actually referred to business or vocational schools. Only four respondents chose high school as the highest aspiration for their children. Tables 8 and 9 give the respondents' choices.

Additional testing The aspirations for sons and daughters were examined separately. An intervening variable and important methodological consideration is the fact that many of the non-migrants but practically none of the migrants were farmers, and that farmers may have lower levels of educational aspirations for their children (3). In order to control any bias associated with farming, farmers and non-farmers will be re-examined separately.

Table 8. Respondents' 1967 educational aspirations for their daughters

Aspiration	Number	Percent
College	86	59.7
Other	25	17.4
No response or not applicable	33	22.9
Total	144	100.0

Table 9. Respondents' 1967 educational aspirations for their sons

Aspiration	Number	Percent
College	94	65.3
Other	14	9.7
No response or not applicable	36	25.0
Total	144	100.0

Post-migration mobility

Status of father's occupation in 1948, status of respondent's first job, of respondent's 1956 job, and of respondent's 1967 job, are prestige variables, which, when compared, provide a measure of mobility. Information concerning the jobs was taken from each of the three questionnaires; the jobs were ranked according to the North-Hatt scale and the additional interpolations.

Respondent's first job   Respondent's first job refers to the first full-time job taken upon graduation from high school, whether immediately upon high school graduation or after many years of additional education.

Rate of mobility   The rate of mobility refers to the total number of full-time jobs held divided by the number of years in the labor force. This operational definition is similar to the operational definition of rate of mobility Lipset and Bendix (43) used in their Oakland Mobility Study. The authors determined a person's characteristic pattern of mobility by ascertaining the frequency with which he changed from job to job, shifted from one occupation to another, or moved from one community to another. The rate of individual mobility was computed by dividing the number of changes the person made by the number of years in the labor force. The present thesis considers shift in job or occupation but does not consider changes of community in figuring the rate of mobility. In the present thesis, a promotion within a single company was counted a different job insofar as the respondent listed a different occupational title. Retaining the same occupational title and changing employer was also considered a change. A tenant farmer who later acquired the farm was considered to have a single job; only if he actually changed farms was a farmer considered to have made a job change. The number of years in the labor force included only years actively employed and disregarded time spent in the military or in any type of educational or preparatory institution. The number of years in the labor force ranged from 10 to 19 for the respondents. For simplification, all females and the two career military men were excluded from this measure.

Rate of increase in occupational prestige Rate of increase in occupational prestige refers to the difference in prestige between the 1967 and the 1956 jobs. The females were again excluded because so few of them worked during this time period.

Occupational inheritance Occupational inheritance refers to the correspondence of the status of the respondent's 1967 occupation with the status of his father's occupation. An identical status score does not imply that father and son were in the same occupation. A father may have been a tenant farmer with a score of 68, while his son may be a bookkeeper, also with a score of 68.

Methodological considerations in measuring mobility

That individuals who begin at a high level have less opportunity for upward mobility than those who begin low is an obvious point, but one with important methodological implications. Since previous analyses of this sample have found no statistically significant relationship between parental socio-economic status and respondent's migration performance (79), the migrants do not begin with less probability of increasing their status than do the non-migrants.

Another methodological consideration is the disproportionate number of non-migrants involved in a very specific occupation, farming. A review of the literature has indicated that almost every farmer is the son of a farmer, so the non-migrants would be expected to retain the occupational prestige score of their fathers to a significantly greater degree than the migrants, who with the exception of three males, entered occupations other than farming. In addition, farmers can be expected to have a particularly low rate of mobility since moving up the agricultural ladder usually involves association with a single farm and is counted as a single job. Similarly, because many of the farmers in the study entered the labor force as farm hands, a particularly low-rated job, they can be expected to rise higher in prestige than those involved in non-farming occupations. To observe the effect the occupation farming might have had on the mobility of the non-migrants, the hypotheses dealing with occupational inheritance, mobility rates, and rise in prestige over first job will be re-examined excluding farmers.

A third methodological problem affecting the mobility variable is the large number of respondents who were only briefly or marginally involved in the labor force, the married females. In the inter-generational comparisons, the first job of all the females who entered the labor force on a full-time basis is compared to the 1948 occupation of their fathers. The females were excluded from the inter-generational comparison at later points, however. The vast majority of the females had dropped out of the labor force by 1956, and by 1967 almost every one was married. Once a female respondent had married, it is assumed that she took on the status of her husband's occupation, regardless of her preparation and commitment to the labor force. For inter-generational comparison, it was felt advisable to compare daughters as well as sons to their fathers, but not to compare sons-in-law to their fathers-in-law. For simplification, all of the women were excluded from the inter-generational comparisons for 1956 and 1967, when the majority of them had married.

The female respondents were not excluded, however, from an intra-generational comparison, comparing the respondent's first job to his or her 1967 job status. For this comparison, the 1967 occupation of the female's husband was compared to the starting occupation of the female respondent herself. Such a comparison was considered appropriate because it was felt that since the occupational prestige of the husband determines the status of a wife, a typical means of upward social mobility for a woman is through marriage.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical methods used in this thesis are the standard ones discussed by Snedecor and Cochran (67). Each hypothesis makes a comparison between migrants and non-migrants on some particular variable. Many of the variables are qualitative, that is, they are in the form of dichotomies, such as satisfaction or dissatisfaction with community of residence or frequent or infrequent communication with parents. Other variables are in a quantified form with numerical values. Examples of the latter are the rate of mobility or the North-Hatt occupational prestige scores.

In the testing of the qualitative variables, the chi-square test has been used. Every such test is characterized by a 2 x 2 table of the form

a	b	a + b
c	d	c + d
a + c	b + d	N = a + b + c + d

The chi-square used is the chi-square corrected for continuity:

$$\chi_c^2 = \frac{N(|ad-bc| - \frac{1}{2}N)^2}{(a+b)(c+d)(a+c)(b+d)} .$$

It was found that the chi-square uncorrected for continuity was not always a close approximation to the corrected value. In such a 2 x 2 table there is one degree of freedom. In order to have a significant rejection of the null hypothesis at the 5 percent level, a χ_c^2 value greater than 3.84 is required. A χ_c^2 value greater than 3.84 may correspond to a significant agreement with or contradiction of the hypothesis under consideration and thus of the theory it represents.

In the case of numerical variables, Student's t-test is used to look for significant differences in the means for the migrants and the non-migrants. The formulas for the t-test used are the following:

$$t = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{s_{\bar{X}_1-\bar{X}_2}}$$

$$(s_{\bar{X}_1-\bar{X}_2})^2 = s^2/n_1 + s^2/n_2$$

$$s^2 = \frac{(n_1-1)s_1^2 + (n_2-1)s_2^2}{(n_1 + n_2 - 2)} .$$

Significant rejection of the null hypothesis has been taken to correspond to an absolute value of t larger than that for the 5 percent level, which depends upon the number of degrees of freedom. Again either significant agreement with or contradiction of the sub-hypothesis will be observed and taken into consideration.

For one hypothesis, a comparison of the male respondents' 1967 occupational prestige with their fathers' 1948 occupational prestige, a full regression and correlation analysis has been made. If the respondents' 1967 occupational prestige is denoted by Y (mean $\bar{Y}$) and the fathers' 1948 occupational prestige is denoted by X (mean $\bar{X}$), the regression line of Y on X is $Y - \bar{Y} = b(X - \bar{X})$. The value of b, $\bar{X}$, $\bar{Y}$, and other quantities including the correlation coefficient r_{yx} will be presented in the findings, and Student's t function will be used to test for significant differences of slope b between migrants and non-migrants, in the manner described by Snedecor and Cochran (67, Chapter 6).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The relationships between migration and antecedent socio-psychological dimensions, migration and subsequent socio-psychological behavior, and migration and upward mobility are presented in this chapter. The general hypotheses and the sub-hypotheses are stated in the general form with accompanying null hypotheses stated in the empirical form. The significance level for all of the tests is .05. Tests are two-tailed, that is, results of either significant agreement or significant disagreement, inverse relationships, are noticed. Results for all of the hypotheses are presented in the tables. In general the total number of responses in any given table will be less than 144, the number of respondents in the study, because data were not available for all respondents on each variable.

Findings constitute a direct test of the sub-hypotheses. Additional analyses are added to explain differences in the findings that may stem from inclusion of the farmers in the sample. The sub-hypothesis dealing with respondents' educational aspirations for their children will be tested separately for farmers and for non-farmers. Other sub-hypotheses will be re-examined excluding farmers, for example, those dealing with prestige level of first job, dependence on fathers' occupational prestige, and rate of mobility. By comparing the difference found when the sample contained farmers to that found when it did not, inferences will be drawn concerning the impact of farmers on that particular hypothesis.

Social Behavior Characteristics and Migration Performance

The first major relationship to be examined is between migration and social behavior, specifically, antecedent interpersonal relationships and subsequent feelings of satisfaction. The first general hypothesis is based on a review of selected literature which indicated that before migration an individual will either be isolated from his family or in the process of withdrawing from it and identifying with those whom he hopes to emulate. The second general hypothesis is based on findings which indicate that after migration an individual will either continue to be dissatisfied with his situation and isolated from others, or as a result of being uprooted, will become isolated. In both of these general hypotheses, migration status is that of the respondents in 1956 in order to take into account any temporary disruptive effects of the migration experience.

> General Hypothesis I: An individual's migration performance is related to the nature of his interpersonal relationships.

Sub-hypothesis 1: Migrants from rural areas will communicate about plans for the future less frequently with their parents than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the frequency of communication with parents concerning plans for the future.

Findings are reported in Table 10.

Table 10. Frequency of communication with parents and migration performance.

1956 migration status	Frequent communication	Infrequent communication	Total
Migrants	57#	24	81
Non-migrants	33	30#	63
Total	90	54	144

$\chi^2_c = 4.16$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

#larger than the expected value

The chi-square value of 4.16 is significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists between migrants and non-migrants in the frequency of communication with their parents concerning plans for the future is rejected. The hypothesis that migrants communicate less frequently with their parents concerning plans for the future is not supported, however, for an inverse relationship has been found. Migrants communicate more frequently than non-migrants with their parents concerning plans for the future.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Migrants from rural areas will seek advice concerning their future plans more often from persons other than family members than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between the migrants and non-migrants in choosing people other than family members in 1948 for discussion of plans for the future.

Findings are reported in Table 11.

The chi-square value of 2.41 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in choosing people other than family members in 1948 for discussion of plans for the future cannot be rejected. Examination of the data in Table 11 indicates that migrants are more likely to seek advice from persons other than family members while non-migrants are likely to seek advice

Table 11. Advice-seeking from non-family members and migration performance

1956 migration status	Family members	Non-family members	Total
Migrants	58	8*	66
Non-migrants	45*	1	46
Total	103	9	112

$\chi_c^2 = 2.41$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

from members of the family. This finding is not at a statistically significant level, however.

On the basis of the testing of sub-hypotheses 1 and 2, General Hypothesis I is not supported.

Discussion

General Hypothesis I, based on a review of literature dealing with social-psychological correlates of migration, specified that an individual's migration performance would be related to the nature of his interpersonal relationships. Examination of Sub-hypothesis 1 did not confirm the compensatory findings of Ellis (24), Martinson (47), and Warner and Abegglen (76) that individuals who migrated from their home communities were more estranged from their nuclear family than individuals who remained behind. The result of its testing did confirm the contention of Ellis and Lane (27) that before mobility occurs, those who will migrate are no less able to form intimate social relationships than are those who will not migrate. Sub-hypothesis 2 reinforced Sub-hypothesis 1 in implying that migrants felt separated from their family group and turned to others for advice. It also advanced the ameliorative theory which contends that if the upwardly mobile or the migrant individual has given up the identity derived from his family and has identified with reference groups whose ways he has not yet assimilated, he will not be adversely affected by mobility. Although Sub-hypothesis 2 indicated that migrants sought advice from non-family members to a greater degree than did non-migrants, it was not accepted.

General Hypothesis II: An individual's migration performance is related to subsequent social isolation and discontent.

Sub-hypothesis 3: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will be less active in formal organizations.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their degree of activity in formal organizations in 1956.

Findings are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. Participation in organizations and migration performance

1956 migration status	Actively participating	Non-participating	Total
Migrants	30	50*	80
Non-migrants	28*	34	62
Total	58	84	142

$\chi^2_c = 0.56$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than expected value

The chi-square value of 0.56 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists between migrants and non-migrants in their degree of activity in formal organizations in 1956 cannot be rejected. Data in Table 12 indicate that migrants participate in fewer formal organizations than non-migrants, but not at a statistically significant level.

Sub-hypothesis 4: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will express less satisfaction for their place of residence.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in satisfaction for their 1956 place of residence.

Findings are presented in Table 13.

Table 13. Satisfaction for residence and migration performance

1956 migration status	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Migrants	37	42*	79
Non-migrants	39*	24	63
Total	76	66	142

χ^2_c = 2.62, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

The chi-square level of 2.62 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in satisfaction for their 1956 place of residence cannot be rejected. Data in Table 13 indicate that migrants are less satisfied than non-migrants with their place of residence, but not at a statistically significant level.

Sub-hypothesis 5: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will express less satisfaction for their job.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their satisfaction for their 1956 job.

Findings are reported in Table 14.

Table 14. Satisfaction for job and migration performance

1956 migration status	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Migrants	46*	31	77
Non-migrants	36	25*	61
Total	82	56	138

$\chi^2_c = 0.01$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

The chi-square level of 0.01 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their satisfaction for their 1956 job cannot be rejected.

On the basis of the testing of Sub-hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, General Hypothesis II is not supported.

Discussion

General Hypothesis II, which predicted that an individual's migration performance was related to subsequent social isolation and discontent, was a measure of the dissociative hypothesis. Proponents of this theory such as Sorokin (68) and Ellis and Lane (26) observed the disruptive effects of geographic mobility on social mobility on an individual. Examination of the three sub-hypotheses rejected the notion that the mobile individual was not well-integrated into groups comprising his new socio-economic milieu and that he was unattached to anything or anybody.

Migration and Upward Mobility

The second major relationship to be examined is that between migration and later upward mobility, as indicated by occupational prestige. The third general hypothesis is based on a review of selected literature which indicated that migrants from rural areas will have access to more educational and occupational opportunities than will the non-migrants, over time will enjoy higher occupational prestige, and will more firmly espouse middle-class values such as the importance of education for themselves and for their children. The contributions of possible inherent differences in the migrants' social-psychological behavior that affect occupational success have been noted.

General Hypothesis IV specifies greater mobility a migrant, as compared to a non-migrant, will have over his father. General Hypothesis V specifies the greater occupational mobility characterizing the career of a migrant as compared with that of a non-migrant. In all of these general hypotheses, the migration status is that characterizing the respondent in 1967.

General Hypothesis III: Migration performance is related to upward mobility.

Sub-hypothesis 6: Migrants will be engaged in higher prestige occupations than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the North-Hatt prestige scores of their 1967 occupations.

The findings are reported in Table 15.

The calculated t value of 1.10 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the North-Hatt prestige scores of their 1967 occupations cannot be rejected. Examination of the data in Table 15 indicates that migrants are engaged in higher prestige

Table 15. Mean 1967 occupational prestige by migration performance

1967 migration performance	Number	Prestige Score Average	Variance
Migrants	96	73.073	56.716
Non-migrants	47	71.745	51.538
Total	143	-	-

t = 1.01, d.f. = 141 (.05 level = 1.98)

occupations than non-migrants, but not to a statistically significant degree.

Sub-hypothesis 7: After having established their careers, migrants will desire more additional training than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their desire for additional training in 1967.

The findings are reported in Table 16.

The chi-square value of 2.61 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their desire for additional training in 1967 cannot be

Table 16. Desire for additional training and migration performance

1967 migration status	Additional training desired	No additional training desired	Total
Migrant	35#	58	93
Non-migrant	10	35#	45
Total	45	93	138

$\chi^2_c = 2.61$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

#larger than the expected value

rejected. Although the data in Table 16 indicate that a greater proportion of the migrants than the non-migrants desired additional training, the results are not at a statistically significant level.

Sub-hypothesis 8: Migrants will have higher educational aspirations for their children than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis A: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants regarding the desire for college education of their sons.

Findings for the sons are reported in Tables 17, 18, and 19.

Table 17. College aspirations for sons and migration performance

1967 migration status	College	Other	Total
Migrant	70*	4	74
Non-migrant	24	10*	34
Total	94	14	108

$\chi^2_c = 9.87$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

The chi-square value of 9.87 is significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their college aspirations for their sons is rejected. The hypothesis that migrants have higher aspirations than non-migrants for their sons is supported.

Additional findings

Table 18 presents findings for the non-farmers only, while Table 19 presents findings for the farmers only.

The chi-square value of 9.43 for the non-farming respondents is significant at the .05 level, while the chi-square value of 0.32 for the farming respondents is not significant at the .05 level.

Table 18. Non-farmers' college aspirations for sons and migration performance

1967 migration status	College	Other	Total
Migrants	59*	3	62
Non-migrants	11	6*	17
Total	70	9	79

$\chi^2_c = 9.43$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

Table 19. Farmers' college aspirations for sons and migration performance

1967 migration status	College	Other	Total
Migrants	11*	1	12
Non-migrants	13	4*	17
Total	24	5	29

$\chi^2_c = 0.32$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

Null hypothesis B: There is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants regarding the desire for college education of their daughters.

Findings for the daughters are reported in Tables 20, 21, and 22.

Table 20. College aspirations for daughters and migration performance

1967 migration status	College	Other	Total
Migrants	55*	13	68
Non-migrants	31	12*	43
Total	86	25	111

$\chi^2_c = 0.72$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

*larger than the expected value

The chi-square value of 0.72 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants regarding the desire for college education for their daughters cannot be rejected. Although data in Table 20 indicate that migrants have higher educational aspirations for their daughters than have non-migrants, the results are not at a statistically significant level.

Additional findings

Table 21 presents the findings for the non-farmers only, while Table 22 presents the findings for the farmers only.

Table 21. Non-farmers' college aspirations for daughters and migration performance

1967 migration status	College	Other	Total
Migrants	46#	10	56
Non-migrants	11	8#	19
Total	57	18	75

$\chi^2_c = 3.34$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

#larger than the expected value

Table 22. Farmers' college aspirations for daughters and migration performance

1967 migration status	College	Other	Total
Migrants	9	3#	12
Non-migrants	20#	4	24
Total	29	7	36

$\chi^2_c = 0.02$, d.f. = 1 (.05 level = 3.84)

#larger than the expected value

The chi-square value of 3.34 for the non-farming respondents is not significant at the .05 level. The chi-square value of 0.02 for the farming respondents is not significant at the .05 level.

On the basis of the testing of Sub-hypotheses 6 and 7, General Hypothesis III is not supported. On the basis of testing Sub-hypothesis 8 for sons, General Hypothesis III is supported. It is not supported, however, on the basis of testing Sub-hypothesis 8 for daughters.

Discussion

General Hypothesis III, which predicted that migration performance was related to upward mobility, tested, in its several sub-hypotheses, certain indicators of upward social mobility. Examination of Sub-hypothesis 6 did not support findings of Scudder and Anderson (59), Lipset and Bendix (43), and Blau and Duncan (6), which indicated that migrants would be engaged in higher prestige occupations than would non-migrants. The 1967 average prestige score for the migrants was 73.07, only slightly higher than the 71.77 prestige average for the non-migrants. Examination of Sub-hypothesis 7 did not confirm the expectation that migrants would more often desire additional training for themselves than would non-migrants after their careers were established.

Examination of Sub-hypothesis 8 resulted in partial but not complete support for the proposition that migrants will have higher educational aspirations for their children than will non-migrants. Findings were separated for sons and daughters and for farmers and non-farmers. The proposition that migrants will have higher educational aspirations for their sons than will non-migrants is supported at a statistically significant level when the population does not contain farmers; it is also supported for farmers, but not at a significant level. For the combined sample, the chi-square value is again statistically significant, apparently because the number of non-farmers, 79, is much larger than the number of farmers, 29. The proposition that migrants will have higher educational aspirations for their daughters than will non-migrants is not supported at a significant level regardless of whether the migrants are farmers or not.

Table 23 summarizes from Tables 17 through 22 the difference in educational aspiration levels for sons and daughters of the migrants and non-migrants, with farmers and non-farmers viewed together and separately. Since all but one entry in the table are larger than 0.5, and the exception is just below 0.5, migrants appear to have higher educational aspirations for their children than have non-migrants. This is supported for non-farmers at a very high level of significance, but the results for farmers are less certain.

Table 23. Probability that migrants will have higher educational aspirations for their children than will non-migrants

Respondent	Sons	Daughters
Non-farmers	.99+	.97
Farmers	.71	.45
Total	.99+	.79

The probability given is $1 - \frac{1}{2}\alpha$, where α is the (two-tailed) probability of finding a chi-square value greater than that computed in Tables 17 through 22, the null hypothesis being in each case that there is no difference between migrants and non-migrants.

General Hypothesis IV: Migration performance is related to inter-generational mobility.

Sub-hypothesis 9: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will show less occupational inheritance.

Null hypothesis A: There will be no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the dependence of their 1967 occupational status on their fathers' 1948 occupational status, that is, there will be no significant difference between their regression coefficients.

Findings for Null hypothesis A are reported in Table 24.

Table 24. Dependence of son's occupational status in 1967 (Y) on father's occupational status in 1948 (X)

Migration status	Number	North-Hatt Scores Means Y	X	St. dev. Y	X	Regr. Coeff. b
All males	60					
Migrants	33	72.82	68.03	7.80	6.72	0.315
Non-migrants	27	72.69	71.11	6.07	9.15	0.293
For the slopes, t = 0.50, d.f. = 58 (.05 level = 2.00)						
All non-farmers	39					
Migrants	31	72.52	67.77	8.12	6.89	0.310
Non-migrants	8	65.25	65.50	6.34	14.42	0.089
For the slopes, t = 2.72, d.f. = 37 (.05 level = 2.03)						

For all males, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. For the non-farmers only, the null hypothesis is rejected: there is a significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the dependence of their 1967 occupational status on their fathers' 1948 occupational statuses. The hypothesis is not supported, however, but significantly contradicted. The prestige of the migrants is significantly more dependent on their fathers' 1948 occupational prestige statuses than is that for the non-migrants.

Null hypothesis B: There will be no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in the correlation coefficient of respondent's 1967 North-Hatt prestige score and father's 1948 North-Hatt prestige score.

Findings for Null hypothesis B are reported in Table 25.

Table 25. Correlation coefficients for respondents 1967 prestige compared to fathers' 1948 prestige

	Number	r (calc.)	r (.05 level)	Significant?
All males	60			
Migrants	33	.271	.344	No
Non-migrants	27	.441	.381	Yes
All non-farmers	39			
Migrants	31	.263	.355	No
Non-migrants	8	.203	.632	No

The correlation coefficients are all positive. There is only one significant association, that is, the association between non-migrants' 1967 prestige and fathers' 1948 prestige.

Sub-hypothesis 10: Compared to non-migrants, migrants will enter the labor force at a higher (more positive or less negative) prestige level relative to their fathers'.

Null hypothesis: There will be no significant difference between the North-Hatt occupational prestige scores of migrants' and non-migrants' first jobs and their fathers' North-Hatt occupational prestige scores.

The findings are reported in Table 26.

Table 26. Mean difference between prestige of respondents' first job and fathers' 1948 occupational prestige by migration performance

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrants	86	-5.791	146.458
Non-migrants	41	-14.098	135.886
Total	127	-	-

t = 3.66, d.f. = 125 (.05 level = 1.98)

The calculated t value of 3.66 is significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists between the North-Hatt occupational prestige scores of migrants' and non-migrants' first jobs and their fathers' North-Hatt occupational prestige scores is rejected. The hypothesis that compared to non-migrants, migrants will enter the labor force at a higher prestige occupation relative to their fathers' is accepted.

On the basis of the testing of Sub-hypothesis 9, General Hypothesis IV was not supported. On the basis of testing Sub-hypothesis 10, General Hypothesis IV was supported.

Discussion

Inter-generational occupational mobility is found in all father-to-son comparisons in industrialized nations. General Hypothesis IV which specified that migration was related to inter-generational mobility, was based on findings by Scudder and Anderson (59). The two specific sub-hypotheses compared the occupational prestige of the respondents at different time periods to their fathers' 1948 occupational prestige.

An examination of Sub-hypothesis 9 rejected the notion that the 1967 occupational prestige of non-migrants was more dependent on their fathers' 1948 prestige than was the 1967 prestige of the migrants on their fathers' 1948 prestige. A contradiction of Sub-hypothesis 9 was the finding that for the non-farmers only, the prestige of the migrants was significantly more dependent on their fathers' prestige than was the prestige of the non-migrants, that is, the regression coefficient was significantly larger. A correlation analysis testing the relationship of the 1967 occupational prestige of the male respondents on their fathers' 1948 prestige again found that the only significant correlation was that of the non-migrants, including all of the farmers, to their fathers' occupational prestige. Since the non-farmers were analyzed separately without significant results, the inclusion of farmers seems to affect the results. Discrepancy in results because of the inclusion of farmers may have been due to a high proportion of farmers among the non-migrants who had exactly the same North-Hatt score for 1967 that their farmer fathers had for 1948.

Sub-hypothesis 10 proposed that compared to non-migrants, migrants would enter the labor force at a higher (more positive or less negative) prestige occupation relative to their fathers. Both groups began their occupational careers at lower prestige jobs than their fathers had, an expected situation, since the fathers had worked for approximately 30 years. The migrants' first jobs, however, averaged only 5.79 points lower on the North-Hatt scale than their fathers' mature jobs, while the non-migrants' first jobs averaged 14.10 points lower than their fathers' 1948 jobs.

A possible explanation for the high starting point relative to their fathers for the migrants is the fact that some of them entered college upon completion of high school, and the prestige of their first job after college preparation was higher. A possible explanation for the low starting point of the non-migrants relative to their fathers' is that many of the non-migrants who aspired to become farmers worked the first year after high school graduation as farm hands, a job rated on the North-Hatt scale as 50, much lower than the average of 69.8.

General Hypothesis V: Migration performance is related to intra-generational mobility.

Sub-hypothesis 11: Migrants will achieve a greater increase in prestige over their first jobs than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference in the increase in North-Hatt prestige scores for migrants and non-migrants from their first job to their 1967 job.

The findings are presented in Table 27.

The calculated t value of 3.20 is significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists in the increase in North-Hatt prestige

Table 27. Mean difference between occupational prestige of 1967 job and of first job by migration performance

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrant	87	8.701	118.331
Non-migrant	43	15.140	112.806
Total	130		

t = 3.20, d.f. = 128 (.05 level = 1.98)

scores for migrants and non-migrants from their first job to their 1967 job is rejected. The hypothesis is not accepted, however, but is significantly contradicted. An inverse proposition can be accepted: non-migrants will achieve a greater increase in prestige over their first jobs than will migrants.

Additional finding

Because of the large number of non-migrants who started their careers as farm hands, a low prestige occupation, the hypothesis was tested again excluding the farmers. The results of the re-testing are presented in Table 28.

The calculated t value of 0.66 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists in the increase in North-Hatt prestige scores for migrants and non-migrants from their first to their 1967 job is rejected. Although the data in Table 28 show a slight indication that migrants will achieve greater increase in prestige over their first jobs than will non-migrants, the results do not hold true at the designated level of significance.

Table 28. Mean difference between occupational prestige of 1967 job and of first job by migration performance, non-farmers only

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrant	73	8.151	114.380
Non-migrant	19	6.368	87.246
Total	92		

t = 0.66, d.f. = 90 (.05 level = 1.99)

Sub-hypothesis 12: Migrants will increase their occupational prestige at a faster rate than will non-migrants.

Null hypothesis: There is no significant difference between the gains in North-Hatt prestige scores for migrants and non-migrants between 1956 and 1967.

Table 29. Mean difference in gains in occupational prestige between 1967 and 1956 by migration performance

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrant	34	3.735	35.534
Non-migrant	27	7.000	64.385
Total	61	-	-

t = 1.82, d.f. = 59 (.05 level = 1.98)

The results are presented in Table 29. The calculated t value of 1.82 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists between the gains in North-Hatt prestige scores of migrants and non-migrants between 1956 and 1967 cannot be rejected. Data in Table 29 indicate that non-migrants will increase their occupational prestige at a faster rate than migrants, an inverse relationship to that predicted in Sub-hypothesis 12. The contradiction, however, is not at a significant level.

Additional finding

Table 30 presents results of a re-testing of Sub-hypothesis 12, excluding farmers from the sample.

Table 30. Mean difference in gains in occupational prestige of migrants and non-migrants by migration performance, non-farmers only

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrant	31	3.323	37.092
Non-migrant	9	4.778	63.444
Total	40	-	-

t = 0.59, d.f. = 38 (.05 level = 2.02)

The calculated t value of 0.59 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that no significant difference exists between the gains in North-Hatt prestige scores of migrants and non-migrants between 1956 and 1967 cannot be rejected. Data in Table 30 show slight indication of an inverse relationship to that predicted in Sub-hypothesis 12. The contradiction, however, is far from a statistically significant level.

Sub-hypothesis 13: Migrants will change jobs more frequently than will non-migrants during their years in the labor force.

Null hypothesis: There will be no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in rate of mobility, that is, in the number of jobs divided by the number of years in the labor force.

The findings are presented in Table 31.

Table 31. Mean difference in rate of mobility by migration performance

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrant	32	0.326	0.0321
Non-migrant	27	0.167	0.0090
Total	59	-	-

t = 4.16, d.f. = 57 (.05 level = 2.00)

The calculated t value of 4.16 is significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in rate of mobility is rejected. The hypothesis that migrants change jobs more often than non-migrants is accepted at a significant level.

Additional finding

Because the large number of farmers in the non-migrant group was thought to bias the hypothesis, it was re-examined excluding farmers from the sample. Results are presented in Table 32.

Table 32. Mean difference in rate of mobility by migration performance, non-farmers only

1967 migration status	Number	Mean	Variance
Migrant	29	0.336	0.0338
Non-migrant	9	0.241	0.0135
Total	38	-	-

t = 1.47, d.f. = 36 (.05 level = 2.03)

The calculated t value of 1.47 is not significant at the .05 level. The null hypothesis is not rejected at the .05 level. Examination of the data in Table 32 reveals that migrants change jobs more often than non-migrants when only non-farmers are considered, but not to a statistically significant degree.

On the basis of the testing of Sub-hypotheses 11 and 12, General Hypothesis V was not supported. On the basis of testing of Sub-hypothesis 13, General Hypothesis V was supported.

Discussion

General Hypothesis V which proposed that migration performance is related to intra-generational mobility was based on career mobility studies by Lipset and Bendix (43), Blau and Duncan (6), and Scudder and Anderson (59). In the present study, careers of migrants were compared to those of non-migrants from several different aspects. Sub-hypothesis 11 which specified that migrants would achieve greater occupational mobility over their first jobs than would non-migrants was contradicted. Re-examined without the farmers, the migrants did achieve greater occupational prestige over their first job than did the non-migrants, but not to a significant degree. Again the results may be explained by the fact that many non-migrants began work as farm hands and at other low prestige jobs in the rural areas. The migrants, on the other hand, may have begun work at higher level jobs because of extra training or education, and thus have been less likely to make gains in occupational prestige, since in general, the higher one begins, the less likelihood he has to rise.

Sub-hypothesis 12, which predicted that migrants will increase their occupational prestige at a faster rate than will non-migrants, examined the difference in gains made between 1956 and 1967. There was strong support for the reverse of the hypothesis: the non-migrants made greater increases in occupational prestige between 1956 and 1967. When the sub-hypothesis was retested without farmers, it received weak support. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that the high proportion of non-migrant farmers may have risen on the North-Hatt scale from tenant farmer score of 68 to farm owner and operator score of 73 between 1956 and 1967.

The examination of Sub-hypotheses 11 and 12 resulted in a rejection of General Hypothesis V. Examination of Sub-hypothesis 13, however, resulted in acceptance of the General Hypothesis V. Migration was found to be related to intra-generational mobility, when that mobility refers to number of job changes made. The migrants changed jobs significantly more often than the non-migrants per years in the labor force. In addition, support for the dissociative theory implies that the migration experience left the migrants with feelings of restlessness and dissatisfaction. A symptom of these feelings may have been frequent changing of jobs.

A more plausible explanation for the migrants' higher rate of mobility is the influence of the farmers in the non-migrant population. When Sub-hypothesis 13 was re-examined excluding farmers, the proposition that migrants change jobs more often than non-migrants over the years received only weak support. This finding can probably be attributed to the fact that farmers who had been associated with a single farm over the years were considered to have had a single job, regardless of how much they may have risen in prestige.

CONCLUSIONS

Five general hypotheses were examined in this thesis, each distinguishing migrants from rural areas from non-migrants according to a particular set of variables. None of the general hypotheses were fully supported by tests of their sub-hypotheses.

The expected relationships between migration performance and social-psychological behavior specified in general hypotheses I and II were not supported. Their separate sub-hypotheses tested three theories offering social-psychological explanations of migration, the dissociative theory, the ameliorative theory, and the compensatory theory. Although none of these theories were supported by sub-hypotheses findings at the selected .05 level of significance, a comparison can nevertheless be made of their usefulness for the present study. Table 33 shows the possible alternative hypotheses, the corresponding null hypotheses, and the fractional likelihood of the alternative hypotheses in terms of the probability alpha.

Overall, Table 33 indicates that of the three competing hypotheses, the dissociative one is verified over the other two. The migrants did show more social isolation and dissatisfaction after they migrated, but there is no evidence that they were characterized by a pre-migration inability

Table 33. Comparison of theories explaining social-psychological behavior related to migration performance

	Dissociative	Ameliorative	Compensatory
Frequency of communication with parents in 1948	$M \geqslant N$ (.98)	$M < N$ (.02)	$M < N$ (.02)
Frequency of communication with non-family members in 1948	$M \geqslant N$ (.94)	$M > N$ (.94)	$M < N$ (.06)
Participation in formal organizations in 1956	$M < N$ (.78)	no prediction	$M < N$ (.78)
Satisfaction for residence in 1956	$M < N$ (.94)	no prediction	$M < N$ (.94)
Satisfaction for job in 1956	$M < N$ (.50)	no prediction	$M < N$ (.50)

H_A:	$M > N$ or $M \geqslant N$	$M < N$ or $M \leqslant N$
H_0:	$M \leqslant N$	$M \geqslant N$
Number gives	$1 - \alpha$	$1 - \alpha$

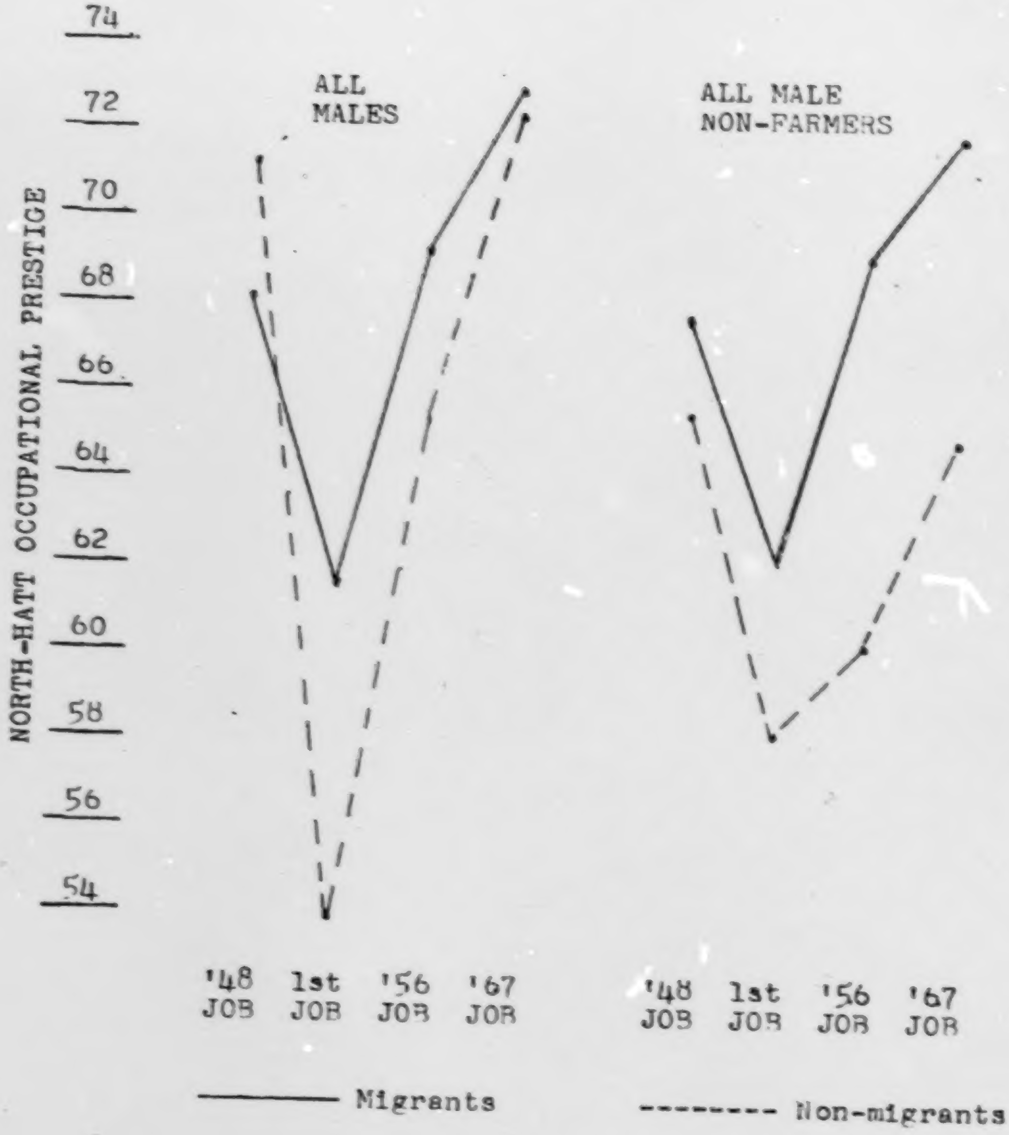
where α = probability of obtaining the result found or a more distant result when the null hypothesis is true

to form effective social relations or by an estrangement from their families. The migrants, in fact, conferred with family members more then the non-migrants did concerning future vocational plans. The compensatory hypothesis consequently is strongly contradicted.

Anticipatory socialization did exist to some extent, thus supporting the ameliorative hypothesis. A high proportion of the migrants did seek advice from teachers and other professional people. The migrants, however, did not go for advice solely to non-family members, for they communicated more frequently with their parents concerning future plans than did the non-migrants. Evidently, they had not chosen entirely non-family reference groups. In conclusion, the results of testing the three theories against one another on the 1948 Hamilton County high school graduates agree with Ellis and Lane's research (26) on male undergraduates entering Stanford University.

General hypotheses III, IV, and V compared migrants to non-migrants in terms of social mobility, specifying in their sub-hypotheses that migrants would show greater mobility. General hypothese IV and V were each supported by findings of one of their sub-hypotheses. Migrants were found to start at significantly higher prestige jobs relative to their fathers than were non-migrants, and migrants were found to have a significantly higher rate of mobility than non-migrants.

The effect of farmers in the population was thought to bias the results. Graph 1 summarizes the careers of the



Graph 1. Comparison of careers of migrants and non-migrants. The 1948 job refers to the father's occupation.

male respondents in the study, comparing the migrants to the non-migrants for all of the males and then for all male non-farmers, emphasizing the effect of the farmers. In general, inclusion of farmers lowered the occupational prestige level for the first job of the non-migrants, while raising it for their 1956 and 1967 jobs. Without looking at the farmers, the present study does confirm the conclusion of Blau and Duncan (6) and Scudder and Anderson (59) that rural migrants have higher prestige occupations than have rural non-migrants.

An interesting comparison, which is not possible here because of data limitation, would be a comparison of the occupational success of these rural migrants with urban natives and with urban to urban migrants. Bauder and Burchinal (3) found that when differences in education and age were controlled, occupational achievement differences among rural-reared and urban-reared migrants and natives were insignificant. The higher than average North-Hatt attainment of the Hamilton County migrants would most likely substantiate Bauder and Burchinal's findings.

Data does exist to allow for further analyses of several aspects of occupational achievement. In the present study, each comparison was between migrants and non-migrants. Methodological difficulties encountered from the large number of non-migrants who were farmers have been noted. Examination of the careers of only the migrants would eliminate the methodological problems posed by farmers. For example, an interesting test, suggested by evidence reported by Blau and Duncan (6), would be an examination of possible correlation between distance of migration and level of occupational achievement.

In conclusion, the findings of the present study hold implications for career opportunity of rural youth. Apparently farming offers a secure future for those rural youth who desire to become farmers and have the opportunity to acquire a farm. From the standpoint of occupational prestige, farm youth compare favorably with their contemporaries who migrate.

The future of rural youth who do not migrate but who enter occupations other than farming is not so promising as the future of youth who migrate. The original North-Hatt occupations which theoretically represent all occupations averages 69.8. The migrants in 1967 averaged 71.97 on the North-Hatt scale, while the non-migrants who did not farm averaged only 65.00.

SUMMARY

The purposes of this study were (1) to compare differences in social-psychological behavior between 1948 high school graduates in central Iowa who migrated and those who remained in their home areas; (2) to examine disrupting social behavior which may have resulted from the migration experience; (3) to examine migration behavior in relation to occupational mobility over one's father's occupational status; and (4) to examine migration in relation to occupational mobility within a segment of one's lifetime.

The data were obtained from a longitudinal study of 144 high school seniors who graduated in 1948 from eight rural high schools in Hamilton County, Iowa, and in Story City, Iowa. The original study was completed in 1948, with follow-up studies in 1956 and 1967. The present thesis utilizes data from the 1948, the 1956, and the 1967 schedules.

This thesis drew upon past research which noted some social-psychological distinctions between migrants and individuals who remain in their home communities. For example, migrants are characterized by feelings of alienation and discontent, resulting in social isolation and continual striving for achievement. Theorists disagree

as to the origin of the social-psychological characteristics which distinguish migrants from non-migrants.

The compensatory theory says that the upwardly mobile individuals are different from childhood because of poor family interaction; the dissociative theory says that migrants are no different before migration, but the rigors of the migration experience affect their subsequent behavior. A third theory which draws upon reference group theory predicts that migrants need not be disrupted by migration experiences if they had experienced pre-migration anticipatory socialization, that is, entry into the reference group they hope to emulate.

The present thesis tested these three theories against one another and found the dissociative the most valid of the three. The migrants were not found to be weaker in family relationships than the non-migrants but, in fact, communicated significantly more frequently with their parents than did the non-migrants concerning their future plans. After migration, the migrants showed less participation in community activities and less satisfaction for job and community of residence than did the non-migrants, but not at a level of statistical significance. Anticipatory socialization did exist to some extent before migration, as the migrants discussed future plans with professionals to a greater extent than did the non-migrants.

This thesis examined occupational mobility of the migrants as compared to the non-migrants using the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale. Two chief types of occupational mobility were examined. The careers of the respondents were examined at different points in time and from several different aspects. Comparisons were made between migrants and non-migrants on prestige of starting job, rise in prestige between 1956 and 1967 jobs, and the number of jobs per number of years in the labor force. The only significant finding was that migrants change jobs significantly more frequently than did non-migrants.

A second type of occupational mobility examined was a comparison of the achievement of the respondents to that of the fathers. The difference in occupational prestige between respondent's first job and father's 1948 job was significantly less for migrants than for non-migrants. A regression and correlation analysis was made comparing how closely and how much the occupational status of the two groups of respondents depended on their fathers' prestige. For all of the males included, differences were not significant. The expected differences in occupational prestige between migrants and non-migrants were, on the whole, found not significant in this study.

The large proportion of non-migrants who were farmers was suspected of biasing the results. Re-examination of hypotheses involving occupational prestige without the farmers showed that migrants had consistently significantly higher levels of occupational prestige over the years than had the non-migrants. Consequently, the general conclusion of this study is that those who remain in rural areas and become farmers can expect a secure future, comparing favorably with those who leave home to seek opportunities elsewhere. Those who remain in rural areas and do not become farmers, however, have poor prospects of occupational achievement, as compared to those who migrate.

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APPENDIX

The Original
North-Hatt Scale

U.S. Supreme Court Justice	96
Physician	93
State Governor	93
Cabinet Member, Fed. Gov.	92
Diplomat, U.S. Foreign Service	92
Mayor, large city	90
College Professor	89
U.S. Representative	89
Banker	88
Government scientist	88
County Judge	87
Head, Dept. in State Gov.	87
Minister	86
Architect	86
Chemist	86
Dentist	86
Lawyer	86
Member, Board of Directors Large Corporation	86
Nuclear Physicist	86
Priest	86
Psychologist	85
Civil Engineer	84
Airline Pilot	83
Artist that paints pictures that are exhibited in galleries	83
Owner of a factory that employs about 100 people	82
Sociologist	82
Accountant for large business	81
Biologist	81
Musician in Symphony	81
Author of novels	80
Capt. in Reg. Army	80
Building Contractor	79
Economist	79
Instructor Public Schools	79
Public School Teacher	78
County Agricultural Agent	77
Railroad Engineer	77
Farm Owner and Operator	76
Official, International Labor Union	75
Radio Announcer	74
Newspaper Columnist	74
Owner-Operator, Printing Shop	74
Trained Machinist	73
Welfare Worker, City Gov.	73
Electrician	73
Undertaker	72
Reporter, Daily Newspaper	71
Manager, Small Store	69
Bookkeeper	68
Insurance Agent	68
Traveling Salesman for wholesale concern	68
Tenant Farmer	68
Playground Director	67
Policeman	67
Railroad Conductor	67
Mail Carrier	66
Carpenter	65
Automobile Repairman	63
Plumber	63
Garage Mechanic	62
Local Official Union	62
Owner-Operator Lunch Stand	62
Corporal, Reg. Army	60
Machine Operator, Factory	60
Barber	59
Clark in Store	58
Fisherman, owns own boat	58
Streetcar Motorman	58
Milk Route Man	54
Restaurant Cook	54
Truck Driver	54
Lumberjack	53
Filling Station Attendant	52
Singer in Night Club	52
Farm Hand	50
Coal Miner	49
Taxi Driver	49
Railroad Section Hand	48
Restaurant Waiter	48
Dock Worker	47
Night Watchman	47
Clothes Presser in Laundry	46
Soda Fountain Clerk	45
Bartender	44
Janitor	44
Share Cropper	40
Garbage Collector	35
Street Sweeper	34
Shoe Shiner	33

Ward Bauder
Lee Burchinal
June, 1961

INTERPOLATIONS

Accountant	78
Accountant, Certified Public	81
Accountant, Comptroller	70
Accountant, Tax, Gas Co.	80
Actuarial Assit. (life ins.)	74
Actuary	78
Administrative assistant, National Guard	70
Advertising man, metropolitan paper	70
Advertising promoter	72
Advertising writer	70
Agent, Internal Revenue	77
Agent, Purchasing	68
Agent, Rental	68
Airway Operation Specialist (Control Airport Traffic)	74
Analyst, Service	66
Appraiser, Real estate, commercial property	68
Arborist for city	73
Artist, Advertising	74
Artist, Technical	69
Assembler at aircraft plant	59
Attendant, Tool Crib	57
Audiologist	75
Auditor, Bank	80
Auditor, insurance co., state	79
Automotive spare parts specialist	62
Baker (owns shop)	68
Baker	62
Bakery worker	48
Band leader	76
Bank teller	67
Barber who owns his own shop and employs 1 other man	63
Baseball player, minor league	67
Bellhop	48
Biochemist	85
Blockman	60
Blueprint reader	67
Boards children at home	59
Biolermaker	66
Boilermaker's helper, R.R.	60
Bookbinder	60
Brakeman, Railroad	63
Bricklayer	60
Brickmason	65
Brick setter	60
Broker, Manufacturer's	70
Broker, Motor Freight Co.	71
Broker, Real Estate	72
Broker, Stock	79
Buffer, Auto	56
Builder of homes (supervises work)	69
Busboy-busgirl	43
Butcher	59
Butter maker	58
Buyer for furniture store	71
Buyer for a department store for a single department	70
Buyer for a hardware store	70
Cabinet maker	66
Captain in city fire department	70
Car Washer	50
Carpet layer	54
Carton Maker	55
Cashier	62
Cashier, Bank	70
Cement Finisher	52
Chairman (surveying)	62
Chauffeur	49
Checker in metal-assembly line	64
Chemist, Ink (no formal education)	64
Chicken, sexer	65
Chief of a bureau, within a department, in state government	81
Chief of police, city of 350,000	80
Chiropodist	77
Chiropractor	75
Claim adjustor, insurance	70
Clerk Actuarial in an insurance co.	65
Clerk, Airlines	68
Clerk, Billing	59
Clerk, Chief, R.R. Freight Office	68
Clerk of court	68
Clerk, General Office worker	62
Clerk, IBM	68
Clerk, Law	70
Clerk, Liquor Store	62
Clerk, Payroll	66
Clerk, Postal	65
Clerk, Railroad freight office	63
Clerk, shipping supply factory	59
Clerk, Stock	51
Clerk, Supply	59
Clerk, Technical	66
College Instructor	79
College Training	75
Concessionaire	62
Contractor, Cement	74
Contractor, General Painting	74
Coordinator, management-labor	75

Coordinator, Oil Co.	74
Coppersmith (R.R.)	62
Cosmetologist	58
County Road Worker	48
Court Reporter	68
Custodian	44
Cytologist	80
Dairyman	66
Dealer, Automobile	77
Dealer, Farm implement	66
Dealer, Hardware	66
Dealer, Lumber	70
Department Head of a dept. store	73
Department Head of large co.	78
Department Head (Ass't) of a dept. store	70
Department Leader-Steel Fabrication	65
Department store buyer for large store	72
Designer, Tool	75
Dress Designer	75
Dietician	78
Director, Activities, Lazarus Co.	71
Director, Ass't. Trade and Industrial Education, State of Ohio	81
Director, Executive, YWCA	81
Director, Radio Station	76
Director, Religious Education	77
Dishwasher	33
Dispatcher, Chief Highway, Motor Carrier Co.	69
Dispatcher, Taxi	65
Dispatcher, Train, R.R.	67
Distributor, Oil Business	69
Draftsman	69
Dressmaker	62
Driller, Diamond Core	68
Driver, Ambulance	55
Driver, City Bus	57
Driver, School Bus	55
Driver, Greyhound Bus	63
Druggist, Wholesale	70
Editor	81
Electric Motor Tester	62
Electrotyper	66
Embalmer who owns his own undertaking establishment	72
Engineer	80
Engineer, Aeronautical	83
Engineer, (Mechanical) Assistant research	78
Engineer, Ceramic	79
Engineer, Construction	80
Engineer, Consulting	86
Engineer, Electrical	83
Engineer, Heating	68
Engineer, Industrial	82
Engineer, Mechanical	80
Engineer, Maintenance	64
Engineer, Operating, city	70
Engineer, Process	77
Engineer, Radio	77
Engineer, Research	82
Engineer, Sales	73
Engineer, Sales (gas heating)	68
Engineer, Stationary	62
Engineer, Surveying	78
Engineer, Time study	75
Engineer, Tool	75
Engineer, T.V.	75
Engineering aids, Senior	72
Engineman, R.R.	65
Examiner, Bank	75
Examiner, Tax	77
Executive, Jr. advertising firm	70
Executive, large manufacturing plant	81
Executive, (Publicity Director) for a large department store	78
Executive, publishing co.	81
Executive, Telephone co.	76
Executive, Transportation	79
Expeditor, Aviation co.	66
Express messenger, supervisor on express train	66
Factory worker - assembly line	55
Farmer, tenant - one who owns livestock and machinery and manager of the farm	68
Fieldman, Producers Livestock Coop.	70
Fire Chief	70
Fireman, City	65
Fireman, R.R.	65
Fireman, Stationary	53
Fitter (female)	61
Flagman, Railroad	60
Floral Designer	65
Florist Production Worker	50
Fly man (newspaper)	59
Foreman, Assembly line	66
Foreman, Body Shop	66
Foreman, Construction	66
Foreman, main crew, factory	67
Foreman, Maintenance, of schools	52
Foreman, Railroad roundhouse	66
Foreman, Shipping Dept. Casket Co.	69
Foreman, Shop, factory	67

Foreman, Warehouse	60
Funeral director	72
Furniture maker, church	67
Glass worker	59
Governess	69
Grinder, bearing	67
Grinder, casting	50
Grinding, general	59
Guard	55
Guard, Railroad	55
Horticulturist	77
Hospital Aids, Psychiatric	61
Hospital Worker	50
Housekeeper	53
Housekeeper, Private	54
Iceman	50
Inspector, Assembly line	66
Inspector, Bank	74
Inspector, Building	68
Inspector, Building	73
Inspector, Factory	65
Inspector, Furnace	62
Inspector, Machine Shop	67
Inspector, Railroad steel car	60
Inspector, Regrigerator controls in plant	62
Installer, Canopy in jet planes	63
Installer, Escalator	62
Installer, PBX - telephone	65
Instructor, Ceramic (makes and sells)	78
Insurance Group Leader, V.A.	74
Insurance Underwriter	69
Interviewer, Personnel	71
Investigator, city tax division	71
Investigator, credit	61
Iron Worker, Ornamental	68
Iron Worker, Structural	63
Jeweler	72
Jeweler, Manufacturing	73
Jig and Furniture Builder Class	68
Job Setter	69
Laboratory Aids	60
Laborer, City	50
Laborer, Common	40
Laborer, Construction	50
Laborer, Factory	47
Lather	55
Laundress	45
Leader of a dance band	70
Librarian	74
Librarian, Museum	76
Lieutenant, Air Force	75
Lieutenant of police (R.R.)	69
Loan officer in bank	74
Lineman, telephone company	63
Machinist's helper (R.R.)	59
Machinist journeyman	65
Machinist, Master	70
Maid	48
Mail Handler at Depot	62
Maintenance man in factory	55
Maintenance, Park	55
Maintenance, Public Building	55
Maintenance, Road	55
Maintenance worker in furnished apartments	48
Major, Air Force	81
Manager, Advertising	78
Manager, Assistant Floor	69
Manager, Ass't. parts, factory	65
Manager, Ass't., restaurant	67
Manager, branch, large co.	71
Manager, Business	72
Manager, chain retail grocery store	72
Manager, credit, van & storage co.	70
Manager, large dept. retail groc.	68
Manager, dept. in larger co.	72
Manager, display, single department of department store	68
Manager, district, heat regulation company	70
Manager, district sales for large company	72
Manager, division wholesale coop.	72
Manager of dry cleaning store	68
Manager of dry goods store	69
Manager, foundry	72
Manager of garage	68
Manager, general, manufacturing plant that employs over 100 men	77
Manager of a grill	67
Manager of a hotel	78
Manager of a large co.	72
Manager of a large dept. store	80
Manager of life insurance co.	75
Manager, lumber company	74
Manager, motel	70
Manager of movie theater in downtown section of city	70
Manager, department, newspaper	
Manager, Office	
Manager, parts, factory	68
Manager, plant, of larger co.	75
Manager of a poolroom	58

*Problem is to determine value for housewife

Manager, Production control	79
Manager, Promotion	74
Manager, Public Utility	81
Manager, regional claims (life insurance)	70
Manager, Restaurant	68
Manager, Sales	70
Manager, Sales--salesman who supervises 7-12 other salesmen	70
Manager of a service station	68
Manager, Tavern	61
Manager of transportation and moving co.	70
Manager, T.V. service (wholesale)	70
Manufacturer's representative	70
Meat Packer	54
Mechanic, Airplane	67
Mechanic, Auto	65
Mechanic, Auto (in partnership)	68
Mechanic, Cash register	66
Mechanic, Elevator	65
Mechanic, field, road building machinery	67
Mechanic, gas meter	62
Mechanic, maintenance	63
Mechanic, Radio	67
Mechanic, refrigeration	67
Melter Loader	61
Messenger for armored car co.	57
Metal plate worker	58
Metallurgist	80
Mica layer in factory	58
Millwright	60
Minister (No theological training, high school education)	72
Musician, hotel, etc.	70
Nurses aide	60
Nurses attendant	58
Nurse, (hospital)	76
Nurse, practical	66
Nurse, registered	78
Officer, security	67
Officer, trust	78
Operator, beauty shop	60
Operator, bulldozer	59
Operator, calculating machine	64
Operator, coal elevator	51
Operator, crane	59
Operator, diesel	62
Operator, elevator	52
Operator, equipment, army depot	58
Operator, freezer	59
Operator, linetype, printing shop	67
Operator, movie projector	62
Operator, Multigraph	63
Operator, radio, airport tower	67
Operator, radio telephone	64
Operator, steam shovel	59
Operator, telephone	59
Opthalmologist	89
Optician	75
Optometrist	83
Owner - dry cleaning plant	75
Owner grocery store	70
Owner, large wholesale business	82
Owner, Machine Shop	73
Owner, small-to-medium restaurant in the city	68
Owner, shoe repair shop	65
Owner, small mfg. plant	78
Owner, (co), insurance corporation	78
Owner, (co), motel business	72
Owner, (co), small store in city	72
Owner-operator of an automobile repair shop that employees 3 other people	67
Owner and operator, beauty shop	65
Organ Tuner	70
Owner-operator, cigarette vending machine co.	69
Owner and operator, cleaning business (one store)	68
Owner and operator, confectionary	66
Owner and operator, farm	76
Owner-operator, real estate agency	73
Owner, apartment	70
Owner, laundromat	65
Owner-operator, insurance agency (partner)	71
Owner-operator, investment agency	75
Owner, service station	69
Owner, small business	70
Owner, Tavern	64
Painter	60
Parking attendant	47
Parts man	60
Professional	86
Patrolman, state highway	68
Pattern maker (wood and metal)	67
Personal (testing, etc.)	76
Pharmacist	75
Photographer, commercial	72
Physical Therapist	68
Piano tuner	69
Pipefitter	58
Plasterer	60
Player in a dance band	65
Plumber who owns his own shop	67
Police officer (R.R.)	66
Porter	44

President, large retail chain store	84
President, wholesale company	81
Press feeder - printing shop	59
Printer, newspaper	68
Printing pressman	66
Proof reader	67
Proprietor of sheet-metal business	71
Publicity man for large companies	71
Publisher	84
Rag sorter	39
Railroad conductor	67
Railroad guard	55
Railroad switchman	60
Railroad telegrapher	65
Railroad yard master	73
Real estate	70
Recreation director (YMCA)	70
Repairman, office machines	67
Repairman, shoe	57
Repairman, shoe (cobbler)	60
Repairman, telephone company	62
Repairman, T.V.	67
Repairman, washing machine	65
Repairman, watch	67
Restaurant partner	66
Retail business	72
Roofer	60
Salad lady	50
Sales correspondent - division local branch of nationwide mfg.	70
Salesman	68
Salesman, car	68
Salesman, cosmetic	60
Salesman, insurance	68
Salesman, retail, not involving canvassing or traveling	68
Salesman, route	60
Salesman, route (driver)	56
Salesman, used car	62
Salesman, wholesale, not involving traveling	68
Sales promotion worker	72
Sales representative	68
Saw sharpener	50
Science field	81
Scientist	89
Seamstress	57
Secretary	65
Secretary-treasurer, large co.	76
Secretary, university dept.	65
Seed corn research	68
Septic Tank cleaner (self-employed)	50
Sergeant, Army	66
Servant, domestic	47
Sheet metal worker	54
Siding applicator (self-employed)	65
Skilled trade	70
Social worker	74
Soil conservationist	76
Specifier, order dept.	66
Statistician, Dept. of Agri.	78
Steel mill worker	50
Steel temperer	60
Stenographer	66
Stockhandler	
Stockkeeper, municipal div., of electricity	64
Stockman in linen supply co.	52
Stock selector	58
Streetcar conductor	58
Student, business school	65
Student, graduate	76
Student, senior medical	79
Student, university	74
Superintendent	67
Superintendent, building	52
Superintendent, construction co. roads and streets	77
Superintendent, factory	72
Superintendent, high school	80
Superintendent, machinist	70
Superintendent, piping	69
Superintendent, plant	74
Superintendent, railroad	75
Superintendent, service-large department store	76
Superintendent, steel mill	72
Superintendent, truck stop	65
Supervisor-State of Ohio Fish Management	77
Supervisor, long distance, telephone co. (female)	65
Supervisor, Coal Co.	64
Supervisor, office	68
Supervisor, John Deere	69
Tailor	67
Technician, aircraft	78
Technician, dental	73
Technician, radio	68
Technologist, medical	74
Tire builder	60
Tool and Die maker	65
Tool setter	60
Tree surgeon, self-employed	76
Tree trimmer for public utility	51
Truck gardener	66
U.S. employee-quartermaster purchasing	69
Upholsterer	62
Veterinarian	84

Vice president of a large wholesale food company	80
Vice president, real estate development co.	84
Vocational rehabilitator, V.A.	78
Waitress	50
Warehouse worker	51
Watchmaker	74
Welder	59
Wrecking business (self-employed)	65
Writer in public relations dept.	74
Yardmaster, R.R.	73

Additions to North-Hatt Scale   July, 1968
Alphabetical listing   AVS Study

Accountant, bookkeeping - 68
Accountant, professional - 78
Accountant, public - 78
Acting - 80
Administration - 70
Administration, business - 70
Advanced accounting - 81
Agent - 68
Agent, depot - 70
Agent, secret - 78
Agriculture - 76
Agriculture business - 70
Agriculture chemicals - 66
Agriculture work - 50
Agronomist - 82
Airline communications - 74
Airline management - 68
Airline reservationist - 68
Airline worker - 74
Animal science specialist - 82
Archeology - 82
Army pilot - 83
Art field - 74
Artist - 74
Artificial inseminator - 68
Assembly worker - 55
Assessor, tax - 68
Astronaut - 85
Astronomer - 82
Astrophysics - 86
Athlete - 67
Auctioneer - 68
Auto painting - 65
Automation IBM - 68
Automotive test driver - 60
Aviation - 68
Aviation design or repair - 75
Bagger - 55
Bank administrator - 70
Bank employee - 67
Banking and insurance - 75
Beauty operator - 60
Beef boner - 54
Biology field - 81
Biologist (wildlife) - 81
Board of directors, Ford - 77
Body shop owner - 67
Body and fender shop - 67
Bouncer - 52
Build homes for lumber company - 65
Bulk can driver for Carnation - 55
Bush pilot - 83
Business advisor - 70
Business executive - 70
Business job, junior executive - 70
Business representative - 68
Businessman - 70
Butcher (owns shop) - 70
Can milk man - 56
Cartoonist - 74
Ceramic tile layer - 63
Checker at Rath - 65
Chief of police - 70
City employee - 55
City street department - 55
Civil service - 70
Clerk - 60
Clerk, IBM - 68
Clerk, receiving - 59
Clothing - 60
Company worker - 55
Computers - 68
Computer analyst - 73
Computer center work - 68
Computer controller - 68
Computer operations - 68
Computer processor - 73
Computer programmer - 73
Computer science - 68
Constructionist - 50
Construction Corp. owns - 70,Construction, roa
Construction, unspecified - 50
Contractor - 70 or 74
Contractor, ditching - 70
Contractor , drainage and sewer - 70
Contractor, electrical - 74
Contractor, field tiling - 67
Contractor, plumbing and heating - 67
Co-op station attendant - 52
County auditor - 78
County auditor of large county - 78
County co-op creamery - 58
County job - 48
Crate maker - 55
Custom work - 67
Data processor - 68
Dealer, livestock - 68
Design, homes - 75
Design, mechanical - 75
Designer - 75

Designer, machinery - 75
DHIA supervisor - 77
Director of industrial relations - 75
Ditch digger - 55
Door window glazer - 60
Dozer and tree-trimming work (self-employed) - 67
Drives cat at packing plant - 59
Electrical work - 73
Electrician, T.V. and radio - 67
Electronics - 73
Electronic control - 73
Elevator field man - 68
Elevator operator - 68
End loader operator - 59
Engineer, aeronautical - 83
Engineer, aerospace - 83
Engineer, architectural - 80
Engineer, automotive - 80
Engineer, biological - 80
Engineer, chemical - 80
Engineer, electrical - 83
Engineer, electronics - 83
Engineer, nuclear - 86
Engineer, technical - 73
Engineer, unspecified - 73
Engineering operations - 70
Executive - 70
Explorer - 67
Explorer, jungle - 67
Explosive disarmament - 65
Extension assistant - 77
Extension man - 77
Factory executive - 70
Factory machine operator - 60
Factory worker - 47
Farm services - 68
Farm supply - 68
Farmer - 76
Fashion merchandising - 74
FBI - 78
Federal meat inspector - 68
Feed and fertilizer technology - 75
Fertilizer application - 67
Field man for breed association - 70
Flying - 83
Fluid power - 80
Food marketing management - 70
Foreman - 66
Foreman, book binder - 67
Foreman, chief, at Carnation - 67
Foreman, garage - 68
Foreman, high line - 66
Foreman, maintenance and electrician - 73
Foreman, manufacturing company - 66
Foreman, packing plant - 67
Foreman, road construction - 66
Foreman, working - 66
Foreman of business - 66
Forester - 76
Fork lift driver - 59
Foundry worker - 55
Game conservationist - 76
Game warden - 76
Garage mechanic - 62
Garage owner - 67
Gas station attendant - 52
General office clerk - 62
General wiring - 73
Geologist - 86
Guide in Alaska - 67
Government foreign service - 80
Government hunting - 67
Government (politics) - 80
Grocer - 70
Guidance counselor - 79
Head of large corporation - 77
Head of manufacturing firm - 78
Head of some kind of business - 70
Heated metal inspector at John Deere - 65
Heavy equipment operator - 59
Heavy equipment operator, self-employed - 59
High steel worker - 63
Highway traffic weigh officer - 66
Horse trainer - 63
Hydraulics - 80
IBM repair - 73
Illustrator for Navy - 72
Impliment shop - 67
Industrial worker - 55
Industry - 70
Inspector for highway commission (first grade) - 68
Insurance adjuster - 67
Interior decorator - 60
Journalism - 71
Justice of peace - 70
Laborer - 45
Lays floors in truck trailers - 55
Lineman engineer - 69
Livestock buyer - 70
Loading meat - 54
Lumber construction - 65
Machinist - 65

Maintenance - 55
Makes tractor gears - 60
Manage cooperative - 70
Management, corporation - 70
Management, industrial - 70
Management, marketing - 70
Management, ranch - 68
Manager - 70
Manager, ag. business - 70
Manager, airport - 70
Manager, computer - 73
Manager, co-op - 72
Manager, county ASCS program - 66
Manager, county home - 70
Manager, department store - 70
Manager, elevator - 72
Manager, farm - 68
Manager, farm service - 70
Manager, grocery store - 72
Manager, hardware store - 70
Manager, industry - 77
Manager, livestock - 68
Manager, livestock salebarn - 68
Manager, meat department - 68
Manager, men's clothing store - 69
Manager, ranch - 68
Manager, retail - 70
Manager, stock yard - 72
Manager, store - 70
Manager, truckline - 70
Manager, V.F.W. - 60
Manufacturing wood and metal - 55
Mathematician - 86
Meat grader - 65
Meat man - 54
Mechanic, diesel - 68
Mechanic, farm (or tractor) - 67
Mechanic, tractor - 67
Mechanical - 62
Mechanics, specialized - 65
Merchant, retail feed - 70
Military man - 72
Military officer - 75
Military sergeant - 66
Mink rancher - 76
Model aircraft industry - 60
Motorcycle racer - 60
Movie star - 70
Music - 70
Musician - 70
Navigation - 73
Night club manager - 61
Night club owner - 64
Nutritionist, livestock - 86
Oceanography - 81
Occupational therapy - 76
Oil jobber - 68
Osteopath - 80
Owner of bank - 88
Owns dry cleaning business - 75
Owns elevator - 73
Owns small manufacturing company - 69
Packing company - 59
Packing plant worker - 55
Painter in factory - 66
Peace Corps - 74
Personal management of large company - 72
Philosopher - 81, Photoengraver - 73
Physicist - 86
Physicist, nuclear - 86
Plumber and electrician - 73
Poet - 74
Political analyst - 74
Political science - 92
Politician - 92
Politics - 92
Postal worker - 66
Postmaster - 70
Post office - 70
President - 92
Printer - 68
Pro baseball - 67
Produce - 58
Production worker - 55
Professional - 86
Professional entertainer - 70
Psychiatric aide - 74
Psychiatrist - 93
Race car driver - 60
Radio work - 67
Railroad worker - 60
Railroad yard clerk - 60
Ranch hand - 50
Ranch owner - 76
Recreational director - 70
Refrigeration - 67
Refrigeration expert - 67
Restaurant owner and business manager of several buildings - 70
Road construction operator - 59
Road maintenance for highway commission - 55
Road maintenance operator - 59
Route work - 56
Quarry worker - 55

Salesman - 68
Salesman, drug - 70
Salesman, feed - 68
Salesman, insurance - 68
Salesman, livestock - 60
Scale serviceman - 66
School administration - 80
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